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HUGH DAVEY EVANS, LL. D.

HUGH DAVEY EVANS, "the first layman of his land," as Bishop Pinkney once ventured to call him,* was born in the town of Baltimore, on the 26th of April, 1792. He died in the same city on the 16th of July, 1868. His life was thus almost contemporaneous with the existence of our Church in this country as an independent body, and few men—none in fact besides Seabury, White and Dr. Wm. Smith—are more closely identified with its growth and history.

Bishop Pinkney, by his rather extravagant phrase, obviously did not mean that Dr. Evans was the most distinguished American of his time not in Holy Orders. He meant that no lay Churchman had ever been held in higher esteem as a member of our councils, as a theological writer and editor, and as an unflinching supporter of Church principles on every occasion throughout his long life. This

* In a sermon preached in S. Paul's, Baltimore, at the Institution of the Rev. J. S. B. Hodges, D.D., as Rector.

high eulogium was expressed in more measured, but not less emphatic, language by his life-long friend, Bishop Whittingham, who thus spoke of the death of Dr. Evans to the Convention of Maryland in 1869:

And of our laity, too, the senior member of this body, who had been returned to it for almost an ordinary life time with few and short interruptions, and had again and again represented us in the General Convention—HUGH DAVEY EVANS, of S. Paul's parish in this city—fell asleep in JESUS, after only a few hours' serious illness, in last July. This Convention needs no testimony from me to the inestimable value of his Christian character and influence. His name, known and honored in our Mother Church almost as in our own, will go down to posterity in association with those of Nelson and Watson, Wilberforce and Alexander Knox, as an illustrious example of those teaching laymen who from time to time shine forth in adornment of the doctrine of CHRIST, by vindication in their own persons of the rights and obligations of the universal priesthood in His Apostolic Body, the visible Church on earth.

The life of such a layman well deserves to be brought before Churchmen, though it really demands for adequate treatment something better than a short sketch like the present. The materials for the purpose consist of the numerous writings of Hugh Davey Evans, the journals of the Maryland and the General Conventions, and especially his own interesting autobiographic *Recollections*, a manuscript copy of which, made by the author himself, is in the possession of the present writer, together with other valuable relics handed over to him by Dr. Evans's executor. These *Recollections* will be freely used in these pages.

The account of his birth and descent had best be given in his own simple style:

I was born, says he, in the city, then town, of Baltimore, on the 26th day of April, 1792. My father, whom I never knew, was a merchant in a small way, and unfortunate in business. His name was Joseph Evans; he was a native of Wilmington, Delaware, of Welsh extraction through his father, and English through his mother. His paternal great-grandfather came over with William Penn, and settled, under grants from him, in what is now Cecil County, Maryland, where his descendants were long respectable. The family in the male line, is, I believe, except for me, extinct.

My grandfather, George Evans, was a deacon among the Baptists. His wife, my grandmother, was a Quakeress. Her name was Rachel Gilpin. She could trace her descent from a brother of *Bernard Gilpin*, the "Apostle of the North," and one of her lineal ancestors was an officer under Cromwell at Worcester.

My mother was a native of Philadelphia, and was descended from all the nations which inhabit Great Britain, except, perhaps, the Scotch Highlanders. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Wilcox Davey. Her father, after whom I was called, was a native of Londonderry in Ireland.

Mrs. Evans was a Churchwoman, but in consequence of Mr. Joseph Evans's connection with the Baptists, their son Hugh was not baptized till he was about three years old. The Sacrament was administered by the Rev. Joseph G. J. Bend, the rector of S. Paul's parish, Baltimore. In the same church he was confirmed by Bishop Claggett, when he was just seventeen years old. The original certificate, on a faded yellow piece of paper, quite worn away in some places, is now lying before the writer. It is dated 29th of May, 1809, and bears the clearly written signature "THO. JNO. CLAGGETT, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland." *Test*, Jos. G. J. Bend. Dr. Evans did not become a communicant until about ten years later.

Everybody knows that it is possible to go to school and college and university without getting educated after all, while on the other hand, some men manage to attain great intellectual development without any of these advantages. How these results are accomplished—how the bricks get made, apparently without straw—is always an interesting matter. Let us hear Hugh Davey Evans's own account of his early bringing up; the quotation, though long, is too interesting and characteristic to abridge:

My earliest instructions of all sorts, I received from my mother, who was a woman of a strong, but uncultivated mind. I could read so early that I cannot remember when books were not my chief pleasure. Before I was eight years old I read books written for men, and had acquired a stock of general information very unusual at my age. The first man's book which I read was an anonymous translation of Livy, to which I was attracted by having met, in a school book, with the story of the Horatii and Curatii.

This gave me a taste for history which has never left me, and has had much to do with the formation of my intellectual character. In what is called school-learning, I had studied English grammar very well for my age and had learned a very little geography, but had gone no further.

The religious instruction which I had received was sound but defective, and was, as I have said, somewhat tinctured by Puritanism, though it did not include the self-confidence and insubordination, which are among the worst portions of that system. The instruction was sound though defective. It was very much the same with the affirmative teaching of our Low Church breth-

ren, but included no negations, though many things were omitted. But after all the Church Catechism was its basis.

My moral education was a great deal better; the virtues of truth, fidelity, and integrity were impressed upon me by constant precept and example. Submission to authority I was taught by a kind, but strict discipline. Frugality I learned from necessity. I have now completed my seventieth year, and have never been in other than very narrow circumstances. My mother was poor, and I was made aware of the fact at a very early age. In that and other matters, I was her confidant, while I was still only a child.

At eight years old I went, for the first time, to school. The expense of my education was defrayed by my mother's brother, Alexander W. Davey, so long as he lived, which was until March, 1803. I was first sent to what was really a girls' school, although a very few little boys were admitted. I was sent there that I might be taught to write, a thing which no one has yet been able to do for me. I remained at this school only two months, and I believe learned nothing. This was in the spring of 1800. In the fall of the same year, having spent the intervening time in the country, I was put to school to Mr. Samuel Brown, who kept one of the two best boys' schools in Baltimore. I remained with him until I had received all the school education which it was the will of Providence that I should receive, with the exception of one interval of a few weeks.

In 1805, at the age of thirteen, he was withdrawn from school on account of the state of his health, and was never able to return or to go to college. He never studied Greek (for which he was afterward very sorry) but had read a good deal of Latin, having gone, under Mr. Brown, as far as the Epistles of Horace, and the Orations of Cicero. His instructions had been so thorough that after a disuse of thirty years he found that he could still read Latin, and he did read a great deal of it in his various theological studies. The account he gives of his self-education after leaving school is interesting in itself, and is a fair specimen of his simple, unaffected style:

It is perhaps proper to say something, in this place, of the formation of my intellectual character. My school training, as I have already said, was confined to Latin. In Greek I failed, and in Mathematics beyond a little arithmetic I was never tried. But before I left school, and indeed before I went there, I had become very fond of books, and have always continued so. For science I never had any taste and I read no language but English. But English books, not scientific, I read greedily and rapidly, chiefly history and voyages and travels.

The Baltimore Library was the source from which I drew the books which I devoured. It was a joint-stock institution in which my uncle had left me a share. The Librarian was the Abbé De Persigny, a French emigrant, with whom I believe I was rather a favorite. When I was about twelve years old I asked my mother what History of England I might read. She told me to ask

M. De Persigny, in her name, to recommend one. When I delivered the message he was conversing with Dr. Bend, who was not only our parish clergyman, but an intimate friend of my mother. The Librarian referred to him; he suggested *Hume*. The answer was a French shrug and the remark, "He is your parishioner, not mine." "You may trust him," said Dr. Bend. I did not understand the precise difficulty, but I was not a little proud that I was thought trustworthy.

My reading in works of fiction was in boyhood restrained by authority, and very limited. As I approached manhood the restraints were released and I became a great reader of such things. There are none of long continued reputation in our language which I have not read. The number of those of no value which I have also read, is very great. I was in the strictest sense of the word a desultory reader, for I read without guide or plan, but unlike most other desultory readers I read very attentively, and had the habit of observing closely and gathering up things which were introduced incidentally, without strictly belonging to the main scope of the work. In this way I acquired a tolerably extensive though superficial acquaintance with old-fashioned English literature. American literature could hardly be said to exist in my youth. I also picked up a considerable amount of what may be called general information, and a pretty good knowledge of history. Polemical theology had been a prohibited subject during my years of pupilage, and I never, until it became my duty, read much of it; but of sermons, and what may be called practical theology, I always read much, and thus learned more of theology than is usually known by laymen.

My professional studies were very differently conducted. I read very little and thought much on the subject. As I had not much practice, I had not the opportunity of learning much by the examination of particular questions, which is the way in which lawyers generally acquire most of their professional knowledge. The consequence was that my learning was far less extensive and minute than that of many others. But it was more profound and rested more upon principles. This was another great impediment in the way of my professional success. The best possible argument from principles weighs less with a jury than an authority decided by a respectable court. This is in the main right, although I think that it is carried too far.

My mode of studying law strengthened my reasoning faculty, and my mode of reading on other subjects, my memory, while my imagination, which was naturally the weakest of the three, was left to starve. My memory was much aided by another circumstance connected with my mode of study. I never took notes. This plan was designed in part to produce that very effect; in fact, it was fallen into because I wrote badly and with difficulty—perhaps mere laziness had a good deal to do with it; a further reason was my doing everything in as little time as possible. This habit was connected with, but did not entirely grow out of a sense of the value of time. I took very few notes even in the trial of causes. This I found often inconvenient, as I had nothing to show in case of dispute. I find, too, that in writing I am at a disadvantage for want of reference to authorities; I know the fact or the quotation, but not where to find it. I may mention in this connection a curious fact; it is that, as I grow older, I am more apt to quote, and seem thus to have developed a familiarity with Shakespeare, for instance, which I took no pains to acquire, and did not imagine myself to possess.

Having mentioned my sense of the value of time, I may as well speak of the habit of carelessness in dress, amounting to slovenliness, by which I was distinguished in early life, and of which strong traces still remain. The two things were undoubtedly connected, for I valued time chiefly because it might be employed in reading. The same feeling was one of the causes of the awkwardness which has prevented my learning to do the small duties of life properly; though the peculiarity of my vision—my two eyes having different focuses—and my great nervousness have, no doubt, been coöperating causes. Perhaps both these peculiarities had something to do with the retirement from society in which I have, for the most part, lived.

Intercourse with cultivated society is a great means of mental culture. In this I was sadly deficient. I mingled little in society. This was partly the effect of poverty, partly of the attention which I paid to my mother, who had no other resource; partly of the consciousness of my slovenliness and awkwardness. The society in which I did move was not instructive. Eminent men were not common in Baltimore, and to those who were there I had no access. Not being in society, I had few opportunities of meeting them, and if I had, they would scarcely have taken much notice of an awkward and slovenly boy. On my side they would have to encounter a vast amount of shyness, compounded of pride, modesty, and awkwardness, and a consciousness of ignorance of the manners of society. I have seen familiarly very few men of much culture and ability, and these chiefly when I was so far advanced in life that they were my juniors.

In 1810, Dr. Evans, then in his 18th year, began the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1815. He followed the profession until June, 1856, but never became a successful lawyer, if success is to be measured by pecuniary profits. This was often remarked upon by his professional brethren, who knew his legal learning and his mental ability. He himself accounted for it in part by his "inability to speak well in the early part of his career, by his not being an adroit man of business, and by his not having that general acquaintance in the city, which is so great an assistance in both getting and doing business." He considered himself also to be deficient "in that sort of knowledge of human nature which makes a man skillful in cross-examination." Moreover, his editorial occupations in later years, and the long illness of his mother, to whom he devoted every spare moment, and whom he nursed with the tenderest affection, seriously interfered with his professional prospects. He did, however, publish several law books which were found useful by students, and which added to his reputation. "*Evans's Practice*," though now superseded, is by no means unknown to Maryland lawyers.

I must now speak of him in that character on which Bishop Whittingham laid such stress—the great layman—which is the first thought that his name calls up to Churchmen. In 1819, he tells us, it pleased God to recall him to reflection (though his early life was without spot of immorality or dissipation) by the death of a family connection. He became a communicant, and remained a regular one until his death. “One consequence of this change was that I studied Hooker, and imbibed *from him* [mark that, for no divine is more frequently quoted by Low Churchmen than Hooker]—imbibed from him what are called *High Church* principles, though I was not so decided upon the doctrines of the Holy Communion and the Apostolical Succession as I now am. I learned these doctrines from Bishop Seabury’s sermons, a copy of which I bought at the sale of Bishop Kemp’s books in 1829. I read them immediately, and adopted all the doctrines taught in them which I had not previously held.” No doubt Bishop Whittingham, who came to Maryland in 1840, had a powerful influence upon Hugh Davey Evans, and strengthened him in his Church principles. But the above passage makes it plain that Evans had reached his convictions, on independent grounds, long before he knew the Bishop. He used also to protest, laughingly, against being called a “Puseyite” (though he had the highest admiration for Dr. Pusey), on the ground that he held his Church principles long before Dr. Pusey did, when that divine, in fact, was writing a book (subsequently suppressed) in defense of German theology.

Dr. Evans’s active connection with Church conventions began in the year 1828, when he was chosen delegate from S. Paul’s Parish. In 1827, Bishop Kemp died from an accident, the overthrow of a coach, and the fierce contest which had raged about his election in 1814 was immediately renewed. The interesting history of these events given in the Rev. Mr. Brand’s “Life of Bishop Whittingham,” renders it unnecessary to go into much detail. The Rev. Dr. Wyatt (of S. Paul’s) was expected to be the candidate on the High Church side, and the Rev. Dr. Henshaw, then Rector of S. Peter’s, Baltimore, on the other side. Christ Church, which up to this time had been a sort of chapel of

ease to S. Paul's, now separated and became an independent congregation. "The friends of Dr. Henshaw in the approaching contest for the Episcopate saw that a Low Church Rector of Christ Church would be a great point gained for them. They conveyed to the minds of the prominent men in that congregation the truth that the Rev. Dr. John Johns was such a person. He became the favorite candidate for the rectorship. I was, on both personal and ecclesiastical grounds, in favor of Dr. Wyatt as the new Bishop." When, however, the Convention met, Dr. Henshaw's friends were both surprised and chagrined to find that Dr. Johns, and not Dr. Henshaw, was the choice of the Low Church party for the vacant bishopric. Neither party, however, under the singular two-thirds rule which still prevails in Maryland, could carry an election, and the Diocese suffered for the second time, all the evils of bitter contention, without having any bishop, from Oct. 28, 1827, to June 1st, 1830. On that day the Rev. William Murray Stone, D.D., was chosen. His quiet Episcopate ended in 1837, and the unfortunate Diocese was again plunged into all the excitement of another election—probably one of the most hotly contested in the American Church, and full of unexpected ups and downs, twists and turns. Dr. Evans gives some account of this in his "Recollections," though he did not participate in any manner in the contest. He was placed in a painful position; his feelings and wishes drew him one way, his sense of duty to the Church another. He had made up his mind in the interval between 1830 and 1837, that his friend and Rector, Dr. Wyatt, for whom he had voted in the previous election, would not be the best choice for the Episcopate of Maryland, in the condition of the Diocese. He feared that Dr. Wyatt's election would result in the ultimate triumph of the Low Church party.

I could not, with these views, vote for him. Nor could I vote for Dr. Johns under any circumstances. Besides, I could not vote against Dr. Wyatt, or do anything to prevent his election, while I was the delegate from his parish, in which I was, perhaps, the only man who did not wish for his election. I therefore determined, and announced the determination to my friends in the Vestry, that I would not sit in any convention until a Bishop had been chosen.

The contest was a very different one from the former. Both candidates were repeatedly withdrawn, and no less than three persons were chosen

Bishop who refused to accept. They were Dr. Eastburn, afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts; Bishop Kemper and Dr. Dorr, late Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

It pleased Divine Providence to overrule all these difficulties, and to send us Bishop Whittingham, in 1840. For this result, I believe that we were as much indebted to Dr. Wyatt as to any other man. I am satisfied that during the second contest he did not desire to be Bishop. He withdrew his own name as much as he could, finally refused to allow it to be used, and adhered to the determination. Dr. Johns withdrew his name several times, and made the same declaration that he would not allow it to be used, but he did not adhere to it. The immediate instrument in the election of Dr. Whittingham was, however, Dr. Henshaw. He had opposed him very strongly when he was first named by Dr. Wyatt, but finally became his warm advocate, and secured for him the votes of most of the Low Churchmen.

Hugh Davey Evans, it may be remarked, says he could not vote for the excellent and amiable Dr. Johns, for Bishop, *under any circumstances*. Was he therefore, after all, imbued (as some said he was) with that evil party-spirit against which he himself protested? Not so. He really valued and believed thoroughly in certain fundamental principles. He could not therefore vote for any one who must, if honest, do his best to inculcate the contrary of those principles. A sincere free-trader, for example, cannot vote to put a protectionist into an office where he would necessarily do just the things that the free-trader considers pernicious and unlawful. What is really evil and unpardonable, either in church or secular politics, is to defame an opponent; to try to make him out a bad man because you disagree with him on some disputed question. This sort of thing Hugh Davey Evans, in all his discussions, could never do, either with tongue or with pen. In this respect he was a perfect model to controversialists.

The election of Bishop Whittingham was followed by a temporary lull, but it was soon succeeded, says Dr. Evans, by a still more violent outbreak of the evil spirit. The new strife was begun by a Sermon entitled "The Protestant Episcopal Pastor," by the Rev. Henry Johns, who had succeeded his brother as Rector of Christ Church. The sermon was designed to contradict the teaching of his Bishop in a discourse (a very moderate and timid affair some of our modern Ritualists would deem it), preached at the institution of Dr. Johns, on the "Priesthood in the Church."

In the controversies which now arose in Maryland, and to which the attention of the whole Church was drawn (partly by the interest felt at that time in every utterance of Maryland's remarkable Bishop), Hugh Davey Evans took a very prominent part and always on Bishop Whittingham's side. In the Trapnell case,* he was Church Advocate, and delivered a long and learned speech, which made it plain that he was entitled to a foremost place, not only as an ecclesiastical lawyer, but also as a theologian.

In 1843, Dr. Evans began to do other work for the Church, which certainly is not the least important of the things for which he is remembered. His own account of it is this:

In 1843, Mr. Joseph Robinson, a bookseller in Baltimore, conceived the idea of a monthly magazine, to be conducted on Church principles and under the patronage of Bishop Whittingham. He applied to the Bishop to name an editor. The Bishop asked me to act in conjunction with the late Judge Alexander Contee Magruder, and Mr. Samuel Johnston Donaldson. I did not feel at liberty to refuse, and therefore said that I would do so, expecting to fill a very subordinate position. This short conversation gave a new direction to the rest of my life.

The other two gentlemen declined, and I undertook the task of conducting *The True Catholic* as senior Editor. The junior was the Rev. John W. Hoffman, who was much younger than I was and had no experience of the press. From the first the burden of the editorship rested upon me. Mr. Hoffman soon formally retired. The work was continued under my sole direction until it reached ten volumes. * * * * *

Throughout the work I wrote the first article in each number. I wrote also most of the Notices of Books. Mr. Hoffman wrote about half of those in the first volume, and a very few, not more I think than three or four, were afterwards written by other friends. I also wrote the papers headed *Church Affairs*, and not infrequently one or more 'Original Papers,' besides the first in the number. The contributions of correspondents became fewer and fewer, until I was left to depend upon myself and selections. There have been very few periodical works which came so near being sustained by a single mind."

The *True Catholic* closed its career in 1856, after an existence of fourteen years. The first series consists of ten volumes 8vo., the second of four. It is almost impossible to speak too highly of the work which was accomplished in its day and generation by this once well known periodical. It was the most important aid that Bishop Whittingham

* See Brand's *Life of Bishop Whittingham*, Vol. 1, pp. 327 et seq.

had in spreading the Church principles that he approved, and in stimulating thought among his clergy and laity, and it was not long before it had acquired a name and fame beyond the borders of Maryland. The publication was a considerable venture on the part of Mr. Robinson. It antedated the magazine literature that has since become so popular and so profitable. There was then no "Harper," no "Putnam," no "Atlantic," no "Scribner," no "Lippincott,"—to say nothing of a host of smaller magazines. The Protestant Episcopal Church had at that time no important Monthly or Quarterly. The well-known CHURCH REVIEW, in which this memoir appears, was not established until 1848, five years later than the *True Catholic*. Many of the essays in those volumes, besides their historical interest, are still worth turning over; are still applicable to present-day questions. Hugh Davey Evans was eminently a thoughtful, careful, solid writer. He wrote as one would expect a lawyer to do, but his style was in the cautious, balanced manner of a judge, fairly stating arguments *pro* and *con*, and then drawing conclusions; he never seemed to write as a mere advocate or partizan. If sometimes dry, he was always clear; his words were remarkably well chosen, and the flow of the periods was harmonious, though embellishment was little thought of. Anything that was extravagant, or that might remotely suggest the American spread-eagle, he absolutely detested. Every sentence had a meaning, and but one possible meaning, and no sentence required to be read twice to see what that meaning was. The thought intended was conveyed to the mind, as the eye took in the words. If there was any difficulty, it was in the subject-matter, not in the style. He read and thought with great rapidity, but he took unusual pains with his composition. Every page was generally read over by him five times before he would allow it to go to press. The *True Catholic* was beautifully and accurately printed, Mr. Robinson, the publisher, understanding his business thoroughly. Dr. Evans considered Robinson the first corrector of the press in Baltimore, Bishop Whittingham being the second, while he thought himself entitled to the third place. The handwriting of the editor of the *True Catholic*,

it may be mentioned, was exceedingly difficult to decipher, though never careless. Mr. Robinson could not for many years find a compositor who was able to set up Hugh Davey Evans's MSS. correctly. In this dilemma his valued friend the late Rev. James Moore, then of S. Peter's, Ellicott Mills, Md., and more recently of Wooster, Ohio, acted as his amanuensis, and in later years, Mr. Robinson's daughter acquired a facility in reading and copying his pages.

Of Hugh Davey Evans's other works we must mention *Anglican Ordinations*, 2 vols., 12mo, which gained for him some reputation in England; *Theophilus Americanus*, a reprint of Bishop Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, with numerous and valuable additions; *The Episcopate*, and last of all *The Christian Doctrine of Marriage*, 1 vol., 12mo. All of these except the last are out of print. *The Christian Doctrine of Marriage* was published after his death, by Messrs. Hurd & Houghton of New York, in 1870. It is a learned work on which the author expended the labors of many years, and in which he gives the results of wide reading. In one chapter—that on the difficult question of divorce, the author defends both on Scriptural and logical grounds, a theory of divorce which has, perhaps, made some Churchmen look askance at the treatise. He maintains, without the slightest hesitation or misgiving, that when a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* has been procured for the cause of adultery, both parties are at liberty to marry again. “Logically (he says), it is not easy to see how a marriage can exist as to one party and not as to the other. If the adulteress is still the wife of her injured husband, after he has put her away, he must still be her husband, and so unable to take a second wife. If she be not his wife, it is not easy to see why she should not marry, unless a direct Divine prohibition could be found, which is not pretended.” (*The Christian Doctrine of Marriage*, Appendix, p. 364.)

On the other hand, he takes the strictest view in treating of the vexed question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. He argues at length that such marriages are forbidden by the Levitical laws, and, therefore, are rightly prohibited by the Table of Kindred and Affinity appended

to the English Prayer Book, and declared to be obligatory in this Church by the House of Bishops in 1808.

Hugh Davey Evans made his first appearance in the General Convention in the year 1847. His loyal devotion to the Church, his high conception of what a Church Synod should be, and above all his unfeigned modesty, which ever led him to take the lowest room, made him feel a genuine surprise when the word came which seemed to say to him, "Friend, go up higher." The cordial welcome that he received, the worship that he had in the presence of them that sat at meat with him in council, was a further surprise; and probably his connection with the General Convention and the friendships to which it introduced him, were among the greatest pleasures and satisfactions of his life. Dr. William E. Wyatt, President of the House of Deputies, at once placed him on the most important committee—that on Canons, where his knowledge and judgment were immediately appreciated. Without injustice to the distinguished names of Dr. Hawks, Dr. Cooper Mead, Dr. Craik, Judge Chambers and Judge Hoffman and others, it is probable that he was one of the most useful members of that committee until the memorable Convention of 1862. That Convention met in New York, in the height of the excitement of the Civil War. None who heard them will ever forget the powerful eloquence of Dr. Hawks and Dr. Mahan, against the quasi-political resolutions which, after thirteen days of hot discussion, eventually passed. The causes which led the Convention of Maryland to reject temporarily their old and honored lay-deputy will be found related with sufficient fullness in the second volume of Mr. Brand's "Life of Bishop Whittingham," which is, on the whole, the fairest narrative of those trying times that has yet been published. Hugh Davey Evans, however, as he assured the present writer, was misunderstood on this point. He objected, absolutely and on principle, to anything that looked like the introduction of politics into Church synods. He saw clearly from the first, what the General Convention of 1862 denied and what that of 1865 in effect admitted, that the question between the contending sections was a question of *politics* upon which a Church

synod, as such, should not attempt to pronounce an opinion. Had he been a member of the Convention of 1862, he would have voted, as the rest of the Maryland delegation did, with Drs. Hawks, Mahan, and Wm. Cooper Mead. And good company, too, he would have been in! The Maryland Convention, however, could not then know this, and it cannot with fairness be severely blamed for its action. Dr. Evans, to his great satisfaction, was re-elected, at the head of the poll, to the General Convention of 1868, but his death in the July previous prevented his taking his seat.

In 1852 he received the degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*, from the College of S. James in Maryland, and became Lecturer on Civil and Ecclesiastical Law in that institution. It was then the Diocesan College of Maryland, and was a place of considerable repute among Churchmen throughout the country until it was broken up by the Civil War which reached its neighborhood, and, indeed, its very grounds and buildings. He valued this honor, and his annual visits to the College, where he was a favorite with professors and students, proved a genuine source of enjoyment to his simple, childlike nature. Especially did he appreciate the warm and affectionate friendship of that admirable man, the late Bishop Kerfort, of Pittsburgh, then Rector of the College, and one of the ablest and most distinguished of those who have devoted themselves to education in America. There the present writer learned to know and love him, and he recalls many delightful and instructive hours spent in his company. Prof. Joseph H. Coit (now of Concord, N. H.), Prof. Passmore (late of Racine) and other members of the Faculty were also on terms of familiar intimacy with Dr. Evans, and greatly did he seem to delight in the new academical society in which he spent, as an honored guest, several weeks of every year from 1852 to 1864.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to show that the memory of Hugh Davey Evans is deservedly held in honor. There have not been many men like him in the American Church, and the growing generation of Churchmen will find not a little in his career and writings well worthy of study.

Few were more truly estimable in their private life; few

strove harder to live up to the high ideal that his writings set forth. Canon Liddon, in a sermon preached a few weeks ago in S. Paul's Cathedral, remarked that the "effect of faith in the unseen world shows itself in every circumstance of life. It would govern the disposal of income, for the private account book is the best guide to a man's deepest convictions." This was eminently so in the case of Dr. Evans. He was one of the few who kept a regular tithe account, and, narrow as his means were, he obligated himself to pay at least one tenth of his income into the Lord's Treasury. As an illustration of his inflexible integrity and the sensitiveness of his conscience, the following anecdote ought to be told. It shall be given in the words of his intimate friend, the Rev. James Moore:

On one occasion, when I entered his private office, I found him engaged over some business papers. In a few moments he tied them up in a bundle and deposited them in his desk; when, turning to me, with his countenance lighted up with unmingled gratification, he remarked that he felt very thankful and comfortable, and that he must tell me the cause. He then stated that, in the course of his professional business, he had become executor of an estate, which, on being settled, was found to yield, for the benefit of a widow, some three thousand dollars, and which constituted her entire resources for her support.

He consulted her, respecting the investment of the money, and was requested to use his own judgment in the matter. At that time he kept an account with, and deposited his own funds in the Bank of——, and believing it to be in a prosperous and safe condition, he concluded to deposit there the funds of his widowed client. Subsequently the bank failed. Many persons lost their money, among them Dr. Evans and the widow whose legal adviser he was.

Years passed away until the day above referred to, when in his private office he stated the facts to me, adding that soon after his own loss and that of his client, he felt that although he had acted according to the best judgment he could form at the time—his perfect confidence in which was evident from his having his own funds in the same bank—and although he was aware that he was under no obligation, either legal or moral, to repair the loss to the widow, he could not feel at liberty to disregard the pleadings of *Christian charity*, and at once determined to do what he could. He mentioned the subject to several of his brethren in the legal profession, and as he was not then in full practice, asked a share of their excess of business, which, in admiration of his motives, they readily granted. 'And,' said Dr. Evans in conclusion, 'I have this morning paid the widow the last cent of principal and interest, so that she loses nothing.' I will only add that in accordance with another of the Doctor's established principles (as I have reason to believe and remember), *he made a special contribution to the work of the Church as a thank-offering to God for enabling him to effect the object for which he had so long labored and prayed.*

The above case was by no means the only one known to me, in which that able and good man manifested the power of Christian principle, and the constraining influence of Christian charity. I know of another instance in which several hundred dollars, the amount of professional fees from a deceased husband, were returned to the widow and orphan children on learning that they were left without support. And I was myself the medium through which he restored to another family in need a considerable sum of money, received as fees from the deceased father and husband.

Such facts as these speak volumes, and show Hugh Davey Evans to have been one of those characters who are the salt of the earth, who so live as to be missed when they are gone, and however the bustling world may pass them by, they are really benefactors in their day and generation. The following extract from another unpublished letter of the Rev. James Moore, is too interesting to be omitted:

* * * You may imagine what a task it was to decipher and copy all now found in the closely printed pages of *Anglican Ordinations* all the leaders of the *True Catholic*, *Church Times* and many of the contributions to the *New York Churchman*, under the signature H. D. E.; the American part of *Theophilus Americanus*, etc., etc. Sometimes, in order to keep ahead of the press, I was compelled to write all night. But I did it not only "for Zion's sake," but for the love I felt for our dear old friend, and was content to look for no other reward than that which satisfied him.

Dr. Evans was what might truly be called an "Evangelical Christian." Often we took counsel together when he opened his heart to me; and gave me an insight to the work of grace there progressing. During one of those exciting periods, when Church politics in Maryland ran high, and he was incessantly engaged in meeting the various issues of the times, he expressed to me his apprehensions lest he should receive some detriment to his spiritual interests, from being so much occupied with polemics. His words were: "I fear lest this life of controversy may deprive me of some portion of the comfort which arises from a persuasion that the love of God is shed abroad in my heart." At such times, when we thus held sweet counsel, I have often seen him, during intervals in the conversation, which were occasioned by the expression of some pious or solemn thought, close his eyes, and, leaning his head on his hand, murmur a half audible ejaculation to the Ear that is ever open. Persons who have not enjoyed the close and intimate intercourse with him that was providentially accorded to me, and met him only in social life, when circumstances presented him as the learned barrister, the profound theologian, or well-read literary man, or when a circle of young people elicited some of his brilliant displays of wit and humor, would, perhaps, have an imperfect idea of his devout piety, and deep religious reverence for all sacred things. He used to contend that this religious reverence was not only essential to the Christian character, but that it lies at the foundation of all true Churchmanship. Forgive me for writing thus, but his memory is precious to me.

If this imperfect sketch serves to recall Hugh Davey Evans to those who remember him in the days when he

was so well-known, and to give some notion of his character to others who have only heard his name, its purpose will be fully served. It is certainly safe to predict in conclusion, that so long as the history of our Church and of the General Convention continues to be studied, his name will not be forgotten by those who appreciate genuine learning, inflexible integrity, humble faith and piety, and, in short, all that goes to make up our ideal of the noble Christian Layman.

HALL HARRISON.

THE FINAL REASON FOR ACCEPTING THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

WHEN Dr. Morgan Dix speaks, it is with a rightful authority in matters theological. The character of the man, his single-heartedness, his courage, the power for good he is, his devotion to duty, his great and scholarly attainments, all demand and naturally have a hearing few men can command in the American Church.

It is not without pain, therefore, that minds constituted as many minds are, find him, in his most interesting biographical sketch of the late Dr. F. C. Ewer, published in the December ('83) number of the *AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW*, expressing the following sentiment: "God forbid that I or any one whom I love should fall into that helpless state in which the final reason for believing is because it seems to a man to be *true*." The italics are ours.

With him, belief avowedly rests simply on ecclesiastical authority. He does, indeed, admit "There may be, and there are, considerations to strengthen that assent to authority, helps when faith fails, or needs to be increased." But then follows the sentence first quoted, the straightforwardness of which is not one jot weakened by any such admissions. It deliberately sets assent upon the ground of ecclesiastical authority on one side, and assent to anything upon the ground of its being true on the other, and makes

the choice between them in language as strong as a man can use.

According to Dr. Dix then, "the Catholic Faith" is to be presented to the acceptance of intelligent and thinking men and women simply on the ground of an ecclesiastical authority—(wherever that may reside: "doctors differ")—and not on the ground of its demonstrably inherent truth. "Demonstrably" as moral truth, of course, and not as mathematical truth. The latter sort belongs to an entirely different domain. If he does not mean this, it is hard to know what meaning can reside in words.

If anything "seems to a man to be true," its truth is the ground of his accepting it. "The Catholic Faith" "seems" to Dr. Dix "to be true" on some ground or other, else it is to be supposed he would not hold it. It "seemed to be true" to Dr. Ewer, after a long and painful period of uncertainty; and so thoroughly did what he came to consider "Catholic Faith" seem to him to be true that he stood by it manfully "through evil report and good report" to a degree that impressed every one with the belief that to him it was the truth as such, and with admiration for his indomitable faithfulness to his convictions even when that admiration was not united with assent to his view of truth. Why, then, proclaim it to be a bad thing that "the final reason for believing is because it seems to a man to be true?" Does Dr. Dix mean to say that he holds what to him is the Catholic faith on authority without believing it to be true? or, to use his own words, *not* "because it seems to him to be true?" He surely cannot mean just that, but only that he has a final reason for believing what seems to him to be true, which differs from the final reason of some others for believing what seems to them to be true.

There certainly is authority for making a thing's "seeming to be true" a final reason for believing it.

Whether Bishop Pearson taught the Catholic Faith or not may depend upon what seems to a man to be true in that regard; but at any rate "Pearson on the Creed" is one of the text-books in the General Theological Seminary in the department of "Systematic Divinity." If our memory is not at fault, Pearson defines "belief" as "assent to

what is credible, *as credible*." Now, if there is any meaning at all in this, it is hard to see what else it involves than having some reason for assent and on the ground of a thing's "seeming to be true."

It certainly cannot mean that such a belief as Bishop Pearson would inculcate is a mere submission to the dicta of authority without proof; proof, of course, according to the nature of what is to be shown to be "credible." In short, what are all the works on "evidences" but effects to *prove* that the Catholic Faith *is true*? Would Dr. Dix dispense with the study of "evidences of Christianity?" If so, the course of instruction in the General Theological Seminary must be changed; for in the department of "Systematic Divinity" we find prescribed, besides "Pearson on the Creed," as part of that course, "Lectures by the Professor on the Evidences of Christianity," and "Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion."

Now, the lectures by the Professor *may* be mere assertions of ecclesiastical authority that Christianity (or, what is the same thing, the Catholic Faith) is to be received whether true or not. We hope not. We know that Pearson and Butler's Analogy are something more than that.

But other works than those of Pearson and Butler are found mentioned in the course of training at the Seminary; for instance, "The Four Gospels," "The Acts of the Apostles," "The Catholic Epistles," "The Epistles of S. Paul."

Perhaps these may have some bearing upon the question of "believing because it seems to a man to be true."

Whatever opinion others may hold, it is to be presumed that Dr. Dix considers the 2d Epistle of S. Peter to be "authentic and genuine" as the books on "evidences" put it. Now, in that Epistle, the author seems anxious to impress upon those to whom he was writing the *truth* of his assertions concerning "the power and coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST" (which power and coming have some connection with "the Catholic faith"); for he assures them that he can vouch for their truth on the ground of his having been an *eye-witness* of them. (2d Peter I, 16.)

Again, in his first Epistle (iii. 15), S. Peter gives this

advice to his readers: "Be ready always to give an *answer* (ἀπολογία) to every one that asketh you a *reason* (λόγον) of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear." And at the very outset of his contest for the Catholic faith, he, with S. John affirmed, "We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard" (Acts iv. 20); evidently an appeal to what was *true*.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, whoever may be its author, is a compact chain of *reasoning*—reasoning from data which were admitted to be true by those to whom the Epistle was addressed. And the same thing can be said of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, of which Epistle, "hard to be understood," no one has written a more masterly exposition than Dr. Dix himself—a work which ought to be at hand to every student of that grand letter. It is also noteworthy that after the dialectics proper of the Epistle the Apostle begins his conclusion thus: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your *reasonable service* (λογικὴν λατρείαν, *logical worship*)." (Rom. xii. 1.)

S. Paul certainly seemed to consider of some importance conviction *upon evidence* that the Catholic faith was true. We read that at Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews, "Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three Sabbath days *reasoned* (διελέξατο) with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging that CHRIST must needs have suffered and risen from the dead; and that this JESUS whom I preach unto you is CHRIST." (Acts xvii. 2, 3). The word translated "reasoned" has for its fundamental meaning "to pick out one from another, to choose, to *argue*." Now, ecclesiastical *authority* does not "*argue*;" it asserts, and sometimes, when its assertions are not accepted, it has anathematized, it has silenced opposition and argument by the dungeon, the rack, the stake. This same word, διαλέγω, describes S. Paul's course at Athens (Acts xvii. 17), where he taught the Catholic faith to Jews and Gentiles, of necessity being compelled to begin with different premises in each case: he "*disputed* in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons,

and in the market daily with them that met with him." Apparently a Christian Socrates. And what is the speech on Mars' Hill but an *argument*?

The writer of the Book of the Acts seems to have been a friend of S. Paul's, and to have looked at things in a somewhat Pauline fashion. In speaking (Acts xvii. 11, 12) of the Jews of Berea, he says, "These were more *noble* (εὐγενέστεροι) than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and *searched* (ἀνακρίνοντες) the Scriptures daily *whether these things were so*. Therefore (οὖν, as a natural consequence) many of them *believed*." It is noteworthy that the word rendered "searched" in this passage is the same one which the writer puts into S. Paul's mouth (Acts xxviii. 18) when the latter says to the Jews at Rome of the Roman authorities in Judea into whose hands he had been delivered as a criminal, "who, when they had *examined* me, would have let me go," etc. As the record shows, this "examination" extended over at least two years (Acts xxiv. 26, 27), and involved much sifting of evidence with a view of bringing out the truth concerning the alleged criminal: and as a result "it seemed to be true" that he had committed no offence of which his judges could take cognizance; just as the "searching" of the Scriptures by the Jews of Berea resulted in many of them that "it seemed to be true" that S. Paul had rightly expounded those Scriptures.

A wretched perversion has often been made of S. Paul's being "all things to all men." But it is clear that this attitude was simply meeting each man on his own ground, and persuading him by different processes of *reasoning* adapted to each case that what he, S. Paul, maintained was true. And so he naturally gave this injunction to some of those whom he was instructing in "the Catholic faith." "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." (1 Thess. v. 21). Δοκιμάζειν, the word rendered "prove," has as its fundamental meaning "to *test*, especially metals to see if they be pure; to hold as good *after trial*," i. e., to approve *upon evidence*. But there is a higher authority than even S. Paul upon this subject. S. Luke (xxiv. 26, 27) reports of our Blessed Lord, that when He joined the two

disciples on the way to Emmaus, He gave them *reasons* for believing in His resurrection—the keystone of the Catholic faith. “*Ought* not CHRIST to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He *expounded* unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself.” Before He suffered, He had made this appeal to those who were opposing Him. “If I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?” And when standing before the Roman Procurator, asserting His royalty, He was sneeringly asked by that officer, “Art Thou a King then?” His reply was, “Thou sayest it; I am a King. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should *bear witness to the truth*. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.” (S. John xviii. 37). His whole course while tabernacled in the flesh, was an appeal to men to believe Him on *evidence*; and may be summed up in one saying, “If I do not the works of my Father, believe Me not. But if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me and I in Him” (S. John x. 37, 38); and it was but an echo of this, when the greatest of the Apostles said: “Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are *true* * * * if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.” (Philip. vi. 8).

That there are difficulties of belief, what man who knows men can deny? Is what claims to be “the Catholic faith” so little susceptible of proof as to its truth as to fear investigation? Is it to be received on other grounds than that it is true? And it *ought* to “seem to a man to be true” before he accepts it. Some one has well said concerning our Lord’s mode of dealing with men, “There is nothing which He would have visited with sterner censure than that short cut to belief which many persons take when, overwhelmed with the difficulties which beset their minds, and afraid of damnation, they suddenly resolve to strive no longer, but, giving their minds a holiday, to rest content with saying that they believe, and acting as if they did.”

We are very sure that neither Dr. Dix nor Dr. Ewer took this “short cut,” but that they accepted the Catholic faith *ex animo*, and *because* on sufficient *evidence* “it seemed to them to be true.”

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

THE SOURCES AND SCOPE OF THE LAW OF THE CHURCH.*

JUDGE ANDREWS, who, by professional training, by judicial experience, and by long service in the Church, is entitled to speak with authority, has written a book which he has modestly called "Suggestions on the law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Its Sources and Scope." That book will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the too scanty literature of Church law, even by those who cannot bring themselves to agree with all of its author's conclusions. As I have the misfortune to differ from Judge Andrews on the most important points which he maintains, it becomes me to submit my conclusions with diffidence, claiming for them only such consideration, as may be found due to the weight of the authorities which I can adduce, and to the soundness of the reasoning with which I shall be able to support those authorities.

Judge Andrews agrees with Judge Hoffman in including the law of the land as one of the sources of Church law, but I venture to suggest, that in this country, and wherever else the Church is not established by law, the law of the land is external to the Church, and forms no part of Church law, which properly includes only the internal regulations of the Church respecting doctrine, discipline, and worship.

All religious denominations are in the eye of the law voluntary societies, and while they differ from other associations in that the aim and end of their existence is higher, and their members have become united not only from a desire to do good to others but also from a sense of conscientious obligation, yet this difference in intention can not affect the relation of the societies to the law of the land, which

* *Church Law—Suggestions on the Law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; Its Sources and Scope.* BY JOHN W. ANDREWS, Columbus, Ohio. New York: T. Whittaker; 1883.

knows no heresy, is committed to the support of no dogma, and does not discriminate in its application of legal remedies between a denomination of Christians, a synagogue of Jews, a benevolent organization which does not recognize the existence of the Deity, or a society of Atheists. The law affords equal protection to the property of each of these societies and enforces to a like extent the internal regulations by which each society governs its members. Technically, the rules of discipline of religious denominations are not laws, nor are their tribunals courts. Laws derive their sanction from the power of the State, and courts exercise a coercive jurisdiction which is vested in them by the State, but the internal regulations of churches, and the tribunals which administer those regulations, derive all their authority and all their jurisdiction from the voluntary assent of the members of those churches, given either in express terms or by implication necessarily resulting from the fact of membership. Therefore, the law says, when it is asked to give effect to any sentence of an ecclesiastical tribunal:

Show us that you had jurisdiction of the person of the defendant, by virtue of his membership in the denomination, that your own internal regulations vested in you jurisdiction of the subject matter, that you observed in your procedure every form which those regulations prescribe, and that, if no forms are prescribed therein, you acted in consonance with the principles of justice. If, having jurisdiction of the person and the subject matter, you have exercised that jurisdiction fairly, we will give effect to your judgment without examination into the merits.

And the law says to any one who seeks to set aside, or enjoin the execution of, a judgment of a church tribunal: If you have been condemned, after a fair and regular trial by a tribunal to whose jurisdiction you had antecedently submitted yourself, we can give no relief, even if we think the tribunal erred in its judgment upon the merits.

So also in controversies as to the ownership and possession of church property, the law finds its *ratio decidendi* in the principles which were first enunciated by Lord Eldon in *Craigdallie vs. Aikman* (1 Dow Parl. C., 1), and in *Att'y Genl. vs. Pearson* (3 Merivale, 353). The legal title to con-

gregational properties is, with us, almost universally vested in corporate organizations constituted of the members of the particular congregations, but the equitable title and the right to the possession and use of the property are treated as a trust, either implied from the denominational connection or independency of the congregation when the property was acquired, or expressed in the deed of conveyance. The inquiry, however complicated may be the circumstances of the particular case, is in the last result simply this: What is the trust upon which the property is held? If the terms of trust require the maintenance of certain doctrines without regard to denominational connection, what, as matters of fact and without regard to their theological soundness, are those doctrines, and have they, or have they not, been maintained.

If the mere adherence to any particular denomination be the condition of the trust, is that identical denomination in existence, and which party, plaintiffs or defendants, is in organic connection therewith? If the test be the maintenance of doctrines in connection with a denomination existent at the date of the trust, does that denomination maintain the same doctrines, or if it has departed therefrom, has its change of creed been regularly effected? In all these inquiries, the law treats the doctrinal, ritual, and disciplinary regulations of religious denominations as facts, if relevant, to be proven, and when proven, it adopts them as rules for decision, only because of the antecedent assent of the parties to their binding force.

Apart from the law of the land, Judge Andrews derive the law of the Church from its Constitution, its Canons, the Constitutions and Canons of the several Dioceses, the Rubrics of its Book of Common Prayer, the Articles and "such forms and usages and laws of the Church of England, as have been adopted" in the Constitution and Canons of the Church, and as that great body of Canon law and the judicial expositions thereof, which constitute the Common or unwritten law of the Church of England, have not been expressly adopted in the Constitution or Canons of our Church, Judge Andrews excludes them as sources of Church law. Upon this point I take issue with him. The

question is not one of mere speculative interest, but it is of practical importance to the Church, for, if Judge Andrews be right in his contention, the law of the Church is to be found only in articles which set forth the fundamental doctrines of the faith; in rubrics, which prescribe the manner of conducting Divine worship; and in organic acts and statutes which have established a system of ecclesiastical government, but which altogether fall so far short of a code of laws, or even of an exhaustive statement of principles, that they do not attempt to define the powers and functions of the Bishops and other clergy of the Church.

Is the office and work of a Bishop adequately defined in the Constitution and Canons of the Church? The fundamental principles which constituted the common basis of union upon which met in Philadelphia in 1784 the first Convention of the Church in Pennsylvania recognize an existing Church with three orders in its Ministry, whose respective rights and powers were to be ascertained and to be exercised according to reasonable laws to be duly made. As those laws have not been enacted, is there any other conclusion than that they were not enacted only, because the Common law of the Church was regarded as so far effective that legislation upon these subjects was deemed unnecessary?

The Constitution and the Canons of the General Convention have defined the legislative functions of the Bishops, and they have delegated to the Dioceses the power of prescribing the mode of trying clergymen, thereby limiting to some extent the exercise by the Bishops of their inherent judicial jurisdiction, but will any one say that the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States is so really unepiscopal that a Bishop cannot in the administration of his See, lawfully use any power or authority other than that which that Constitution and those Canons have in express terms conferred upon him? A Bishop's authority must not of course be exercised arbitrarily. Yet how are its necessary limits to be determined otherwise than by reference to the Common law of the Church? Take the burning question of the relations of rectors and vestries. Is it consistent with either the dignity or the unity of the Church that the tenure of office and the legal functions of its parish clergymen

should be dependent upon the terms of a civil contract of employment in each individual case? Yet how can the correlative rights and duties of the clergy and laity be ascertained if recourse be not had to the Common law of the Church? Take the cases of parish churches and their chapels. Will the Canons of the General Convention or of the Dioceses solve the difficulties which sometimes grow out of that relation? Here again comes in the common law of the Church. These are but illustrations, and it would be easy to add largely to them, but they serve to show that the question upon which I take issue with Judge Andrews, is not theoretical, but practical.

Judge Andrews endeavors to support his contention by the analogies of Federal and State law, by the citation of English authorities to establish the proposition that the legal status of the Colonial churches was that of entire independence of the authority of the Church of England, and by a critical review of the history of the Church in the United States. I shall try to show that he is not entitled to the verdict on any of the grounds upon which he rests his case.

I shall first meet the argument based upon the analogies of the Federal government and the States. The Federal government was, as we all know, formed by the union of sovereign States which delegated to it certain express powers, and as it cannot lawfully exercise any power which has not been in express terms granted to it, that government, as such, has no Common law. Yet the several States have that Common law which the English settlers brought as their birthright to the Colonies, and which to-day, so far as not modified by statutes, constitutes the great body of the law in all the States of the Union, Florida and Louisiana alone excepted, and which is administered both in the Federal and State courts. So the Church in the Colonies before the Revolution, constituted as it was of separate congregations, whose only bond of union was in their common subjection to the authority of their one diocesan, the Bishop of London, had as its Common law, the law of the Church of England, which was not abrogated by that ecclesiastical union which constituted the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, any more than the confed-

eration of the United States ended the rule of the Common law in the several States. Such would be my answer, if the analogy between the Church and the United States were as close as Judge Andrews claims it, but as I do not admit it, to be. The union of the Church in this country was not a federal league of independent and separately existent Colonial churches, but it was in fact, an union of individual congregations in one Church, which for convenience of administration is divided into Dioceses, but in whose governing body there is vested, but not by delegation, a general power of legislation, subject to certain organic restrictions. The true analogy therefore, is to be found not between the Church and the Federal government, but between the Church and its Dioceses on the one hand, and any one State and its several counties on the other hand. Surely no one will contend that when Pennsylvania was wrested from the English crown, and subsequently divided into counties, that State thereby lost the Common law of England, nor ought any one to claim that like circumstances have been followed by a different result in the Church.

Judge Andrews cites several English authorities and from them he deduces the rule that the legal status of Colonial churches was that of entire independence, and applying that rule to the Colonial Church in our country he holds "that they were in full accord with the Church of England in all essential points of doctrine, discipline and worship, and thus, while entirely independent of her were substantially identified with her." I cannot so read those authorities.

In the case of *Long vs. The Bishop of Capetown*, 1 Moore P. C. N. S., 411, the question was as to the validity of the deprivation of the Rev. Mr. Long, a clergyman of the Church of England, by the judicial action of the Bishop of Capetown, a Bishop of that Church in South Africa. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council held that the offence for which Mr. Long had been deprived was not one which, according to the laws of the Church of England, warranted the appellant's deprivation, and they therefore decided against the validity of the decree of deprivation. Lord Kingsdown in his opinion said that which Judge Andrews quotes as follows:

The Church of England, in places where there is no church established

by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better, but in no worse position, and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them. It may be further laid down that, where any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but has also constituted a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequence of such violation, then the decision of such tribunal will be binding, when it has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms be prescribed, and if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice. In such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense Courts; they derive no authority from the Crown; they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences; they must apply for that purpose to the courts established by law: and such courts will give effect to their decisions, as they give effect to the decision of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties.

In the later case of the Bishop of Natal vs. Gladstone, L. R., 3 Equity, page 35, Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, thus comments upon Lord Kingsdown's *dicta*. He says:

All that really is meant by these words is, that where there is no State religion established by the Legislature in any colony, and in such a colony is found a number of persons who are members of the Church of England, and who establish a church there with the doctrines, rites, and ordinances of the Church of England, it is A PART OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE MEMBERS OF IT ARE BY IMPLIED AGREEMENT, BOUND BY ALL ITS LAWS. In other words, the association is bound by the doctrines, rites, rules, and ordinances of the Church of England, except so far as any statutes may exist which (though relating to this subject) are confined in their operation to the limits of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland. Accordingly, upon reference to the civil tribunal, in the event of any resistance to the order of the Bishop in any such colony, the court would have to inquire, not what were the peculiar opinions of the persons associated together in the colony as members of the Church of England, but what were the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England itself, obedience to which doctrine and discipline the Court would have to enforce.

* * * * *

In the carefully considered judgment delivered on that occasion, no suggestion is made that the church established at Cape Town, over which Dr. Gray presided as Bishop, is not a part of the Church of England, nor does any doubt seem to have been entertained by the Court on that point. On the contrary, the whole judgment proceeds on the assumption, and is based on the foundation, that the church so established is a portion of the Church of England. That judgment states, that the Church of England, in places where there is no church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, thereby affirming that the Church of England may extend to and have branches in places where it is not established by law.

In *re* Bishop of Natal, 3 Moo., P. C. N. S., 115, the ques-

tion was as to the validity of the deposition of Bishop Colenso by Bishop Gray, his Metropolitan, and the Court decided against the validity of the deposition on the ground that the Metropolitan could not exercise coercive jurisdiction, but neither the judgment, nor the reasons given for it, touched the relation of Colonial churches to the law of the Church of England. Judge Andrews quotes from Lord Westbury's judgment in that case the following paragraph:

It cannot be said that any ecclesiastical tribunal or jurisdiction is required in any colony or settlement where there is no established Church; and in the case of a settled colony the Ecclesiastical Law of England cannot, for the same reason, be treated as part of the law which the settlers carried with them from the mother country.

A careful examination of that judgment will convince any one that the Ecclesiastical Law of England which Lord Westbury said could not be treated as part of the law which the settlers carried with them from the mother country was not the law of the Church of England, but the law of the establishment, that is to say, the statutory procedure by which coercive, as distinguished from voluntary, jurisdiction is carried into effect.

In the case of the Bishop of Natal vs. Gladstone, L. R. 3 Equity, 1, the question was as to the right of Bishop Colenso to recover his salary from the trustees of the Colonial Bishopric Fund, objection having been made that, as under the last cited case, a Colonial Bishop could not exercise coercive jurisdiction, the letters patent had failed to create a legal see or diocese, and that therefore the plaintiff had never been such a Bishop as was contemplated by the trust. The Master of the Rolls gave judgment for the plaintiff and his judgment was not appealed from. On page 43 he says:

The cases show that the district or colony of Natal is a district presided over by a Bishop of the Church of England, which is properly termed a See or Diocese, that the ministers, deacons and priests, officiating within that district, and also all the laymen professing to be members of the Church of England, constitute, not a church in Natal in union and full communion with the Church of England, but a part of the Church of England itself, and that all the ministers, priests and deacons, there officiating, and all the persons composing the several flocks, are members and brethren of the Church of England, in the strict sense of the term. The consequence is, that they have in all matters ecclesiastically voluntarily submitted themselves to the control of the Bishop of Natal, so long as it is exercised within the scope of his authority, according to the principles prescribed by the Church of England.

And on page 49 he says:

The members of the Church in South Africa may create an ecclesiastical tribunal to try ecclesiastical matters between themselves, and may agree that the decisions of such a tribunal shall be final, whatever may be their nature or effect. Upon this being proved the civil tribunal would enforce such decisions against all the persons who had agreed to be members of such an association, that is, against all the persons who had agreed to be bound by these decisions, and it would do so without inquiring into the propriety of such decisions. But such an association would be distinct from, and form no part of, the Church of England, whether it did or did not call itself in union and full communion with the Church of England. It would strictly and properly be an Episcopal Church, not *of*, but *in*, South Africa, as it is the Episcopal Church *in* Scotland, but not *of* Scotland. But if the Episcopal Church in South Africa chose to remain part of the United Church of England and Ireland, then no such irresponsible tribunal could exist, and when recourse is had to the civil tribunals to enforce obedience to these decisions, they must be subject to revision to the extent I have already pointed out, as laid down by the judgment, in the case of *Long vs. Bishop of Capetown*. In one case it is one Church in all the colonies, each association being part of the parent Church of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland; in the other case they are separate and distinct Episcopal Churches, each existing separate in each colony, and distinct from every other Church, bound by their own canons only, and no more bound by the canons of any other Church than they would be by the canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, according to their final settlement by the last synod held in Edinburgh in 1860 for that purpose, and all of them rejecting, as the Church in Scotland is compelled to do, the thirty-seventh of the Articles of the English Church, which puts the Sovereign at the head of the Church.

There is nothing in *Merriman vs. Williams*, Law Reports, 7 Appeal Cases, 484-509, to vary the effect of the preceding cases, for there the question was whether or not the Episcopal Church of South Africa could claim the benefits of endowments which had been given for the Church of England in South Africa. It was held that it could not, and the judgment of the Privy Council was rested upon the fact, that the congregations in South Africa originally belonging to the Church of England had effected a denominational organization under the title of the Episcopal Church of South Africa, had organized a Synod as the ecclesiastical judicature of that denomination, and had adopted a constitution, which in express terms qualified the adherence of the denomination to the accepted standards and formularies of the Church of England by a proviso (which Judge Andrews does not quote), which clearly states that the Church of South Africa would not consent

to be bound by the decision in questions of faith and doctrine, or in questions of discipline relating to faith and doctrine, of any tribunals other than those of its own selection.

I submit that these cases, so far from justifying the construction which Judge Andrews has put upon them, clearly show that the status of a Colonial Church constituted of members of the Church of England is, so long as it does not attempt to effect an independent ecclesiastical organization, or adopt a constitution defining its organic law, that of an integral part of the Church of England, but where, as such, a Colonial Church does effect an independent organization or does adopt a constitution, it thereby constitutes itself an independent Church. Now, it is clear that the Church in the American Colonies consisted of congregations which maintained the doctrines of the Church of England, which did not make any attempt towards the formation of an independent Church, either by organization or by the adoption of a constitution, and which were subject to the authority of their one diocesan, the Bishop of London. Therefore, by virtue of legal status, the Church in the American Colonies was not a distinct Church in communion with the Church of England, but it was a part of the Church of England, and as such governed by the laws of that Church.

There ought not, at this late day, to be any doubt either as to the controlling facts* in the history of the Church in the United States, or as to the inferences to be drawn from them, for those facts are few in number, they are clearly proved by unquestioned records, and they are defined in meaning by the contemporaneous exposition of Bishop White, who, in so far as any mortal man could, shaped and moulded the framework of that body which is now the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

* The historical authorities from which I have taken the facts stated in the text, are Bishop White's *Memoirs*, Bishop Perry's *Hand-book of the General Convention*, Bishop Wilberforce's *History of the American Church*, and Dr. Humphrey's *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1730).

The Church in the colonies was planted in the seventeenth century by immigrants who were members of the Church of England. It was nurtured by "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which had been chartered by William III. in 1701, and which, until the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, sent forth missionaries, gathered congregations, built and endowed churches, and supported parish clergymen, and, in each and every instance, the missionaries and the parish clergymen were clergymen of the Church of England, the congregations were congregations of the Church of England, and their houses of worship were churches of the Church of England. The Diocesan authority of the Bishop of London over the Church in the colonies was asserted in 1676 by Bishop Compton, recognized in 1723 by a commission granted by the Crown to Bishop Gibson, and acknowledged with gratitude by the Convention of 1785. In 1750 Archbishop Secker described the Colonial Churchmen as "members of our Church in America," and, in 1785, the General Convention of the Church in the United States reminded the Prelates of the Church of England that—

Our forefathers, when they left the land of their nativity did not leave the bosom of that Church, over which your lordships now preside; but, as well from a veneration for Episcopal government, as from an attachment to the admirable services of our liturgy, continued in willing connection with their ecclesiastical superiors in England, and were subjected to many local inconveniences rather than break the unity of the Church to which they belonged.

Surely, if any fact can be proven by historical evidence, it is conclusively proven that the Church in the Colonies was part and parcel of the Church of England. Will any one then say that that Colonial Church was subject to no law other than the by-laws of the vestries of its severed congregations? If it was subject to law, will any lawyer undertake to maintain, contrary to the expressed opinion of Lord Romilly, that that law could be any other than that of the Church of England? If, in any congregation of the Colonial Church there had been litigation as to the right of any individual to officiate as a parish minister, or as to the right of any number of individuals to control the property, could the Colonial courts have determined the contest

otherwise than by the application of the law of the Church of England? To ask these questions is to answer them.

The Church in the United States is not a new body, founded in 1783 by Bishop White and his co-laborers, clerical and lay, and as such the legal successor of the Colonial Church, but it is by the express terms of the authoritative declaration of the General Convention of 1814 "the same body heretofore known in these States by the name of 'the Church of England.'" Its Book of Common Prayer, though professedly compiled as a new book, is, in fact, the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, amended by alterations "in the prayers for Our Civil Rulers in consequence of the Revolution," and in certain minor particulars, which to the Convention of 1787 seemed expedient, and yet with an expressed determination not "to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." Its Bishops derive their succession from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England by virtue of a solemn declaration signed by every member of the Convention of 1786, and addressed to the English Bishops in these words:

We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your lordships that we neither have departed nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship, as far as was consistent with our Civil Constitution, and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer, but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate than to dispute.

Bishop White and Bishop Provoost, consecrated upon those terms, and by the act of consecration invested with inherent Episcopal functions, subsequently united with Bishop Seabury and with the clergy and laity of the Church in the United States in the adoption of the Constitution of 1789.

The Church in the Colonies being a part of the Church of England, and as such subject to the Common Law of that Church, and the identity of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," with "the Church of England" in the Colonies, and the agreement of the former with the latter in every "essential point of doc-

"trine, discipline and worship" being established, can it with any show of reason be contended that the Church in the United States is not to be bound by so much of the Common Law of the Church of England as has not been expressly superseded by the legislation of the Church in the United States? As the revolution in the State did not abolish the Common law of the land by its substitution of the sovereignty of the people for that of the Crown, so the consequent emancipation of the Church from the royal supremacy, and from the "mild and paternal government" of the Bishop of London, left its Common law in unimpaired force and vigor.

The necessary limits of an article in the REVIEW have forbidden me to comment in detail upon every historical fact relied upon, and every reason advanced by Judge Andrews, and I have been forced to content myself with the presentation of what is merely a brief outline of that historical and legal argument, which has heretofore, upon adequate grounds of reason and authority, been accepted, by some of the most learned Canonists of the Church in the United States.

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

APOLOGETICS—ITS PROPER ATTITUDE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

CHRISTIANITY has often reason to ask to be defended from its defenders. The Christianity of Christ needs no apology. There is blasphemy in the admission. But the Christianity of men does, for it has always been profoundly inferior to that of CHRIST. Both our imperfect apprehension, and our still more imperfect manifestation of, Christianity make constant apologies necessary; make it a constant duty to set it forth as free as possible from these human limitations; to vindicate its true form and content from misconceptions of friends and from calumnies of foes. Indeed, in its technical

sense, Apologetics is the science and art of that vindication of Christianity which is only completed in a counter-attack and dislodgment of the assaulting enemy. But this work is often most imperfectly done. Too often it fails to start from the postulate that Christianity is absolute truth, and in and of itself needs no apology; that it is self-evidencing and self-vindicating; that the witness of God is greater than the witness of men; that "The Faith" has authority of *itself*, as well as reason, and is the inherent ground principle and subject matter of the science of Apologetics. And yet, as we have indicated, Christianity comes into certain relations that demand the application of principles of vindication in a real contest. S. Peter exhorted all his fellow-Christians to "be always ready to give an answer (*ἀπολογία*) to every man" asking a reason for their Christian hope (1 S. Peter, iii. 15). S. Paul wrote to the Philippians: "I am set for the defence (*ἀπολογία*) of the gospel" (Phil. i. 17). Before Agrippa he *answered for himself* (*ἀπελογεῖτο*). The early fathers adopted this word and applied it to their evidences, defences and vindications of Christianity against all opponents. They were Christian apologists. Thus the word came to have a technical sense, as indeed it had in classic Greek. Plato's *Apology* for Socrates, like Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, was a vindication against all calumnious charges, by a setting forth of the *real* Socrates. This, too, reminds us that Dr. John Henry Newman thought it necessary to write his "*apologia pro mea vita*," when he perverted to Rome. There are not lacking men in the Church to-day who are weary of Apologetics, who decry all the literature whose aim is to vindicate the truth of Christianity. Two classes thus make light of this branch of study—the Rationalists and the Ritualists; those who over-use their intellects and those who under-use them, or those who have not much faith left to apologize for, and those who have not much reason to give for the faith that is in them. A slur is cast upon the study from the use of the word apology. But the taint that might seem to inhere in it from its ordinary meaning is not the one that belongs to it. It has a nobler birthright and inheritance in all sacred and classical literature. The *modern* technical use of the

word, however, began in the eighteenth century. Schleiermacher first stamped the name upon this department of theology. But the contest with the Deists in England gave it its form and character. Christianity was then exhaustively defended on the *grounds of reason*. And since then, though always doing effective temporary work as an art of defence, it has gradually and unconsciously been weakening the ground of Christianity as the absolute religion by its main principle as a science; *i.e.*, defending Christianity on the grounds of reason. Hence it has come to pass that Apologetics, in its technical sense, needs an apology, in the common sense of an excuse for a blunder, or a fault. This apology, however, will, in this article, be only slight and incidental to the main purpose of asserting the true remedy therefor. The trend of Apologetics hitherto, I confidently affirm, has been too rationalistic, and as confidently I maintain that the trend of Apologetics to-day should unquestionably be towards the stronger assertion and vindication of the *supernatural* character of the origin, growth, existence, life and future of Christianity. Naturalism is having its day in the world, and unconsciously enough has been admitted into the methods of religious thought. Instead of the hyper-supernaturalism of the former age we have now, at best, only a natural supernaturalism—the earth and all mysteries made an open vision to the natural understanding of man. The time seems fast passing away when opponents of Christianity can ground all their objections to it in its supernatural pretensions. And yet the denial of the supernatural is the root of all possible objections to Christianity. If we have allowed rationalism to so saturate our method of Apologetics as to take from unbelievers the grounds of objections to Christianity, then we surely need to purge it of this leaven and once again believe and assert that the heavens are above the earth; that the SON of God not only descended from heaven, but also that He has thither ascended again, that He may draw all men unto Himself. If we must have naturalism, it should at least be a supernatural-naturalism, owing to the abiding presence of our EMMANUEL in the Church on earth. But, instead of playing into the enemy's hand by helping to break down all

barriers between the supernatural and the natural, we need especially to-day to assert and vindicate the supernatural—its necessity, moral and philosophical; its orderly successive manifestations as a *system* in creation, nature and man, as their real hypostasis; in the historic revelation, the incarnation, and in the Church in regeneration, sacraments, sanctification and its ultimate triumph. Christianity begins, lives, and is to have its consummation, not in and by the natural, but in and by the supernatural. Using the word apology in its common instead of its technical sense, we may say that Christianity has been so immoderately apologized for by some of its friends, that there remains little to distinguish it from natural religion. Prof. Seeley's "*Ecce Homo*" was the acme of this sort of apology. His late work, "Natural Religion," is its logical and actual bathos. What a warning picture this should be to many Christian teachers of the natural progress of their method from the supernatural to the merest natural!

The pendulum of Christian thought vibrates from the extreme of hyper-supernaturalism to that of hypo-naturalism. The English Deists attacked Christianity because it was held by the Christian thought of the time as so supernatural as to be almost *contrary* to both nature and reason. The acme of this Deistic opposition is represented by Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, and Tindal's *Christianity as old as Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*. The apologetic replies sank down to that of Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, the gulf finally being nearly closed. Bishop Butler's noble, *necessary* and triumphant work of that day has not been without its evil-working limitations. It vindicated the harmony between Reason and Revelation—a harmony *both* of their mysteries and their truths, and that, too, not at the expense of Christianity. But from his method have come the two modern evils of naturalism and agnosticism.* We wish, in this article to deal only with the first of these—

* Mr. Leslie Stephens, in an article, entitled *An Agnostic's Apology*, in speaking of Bishop Butler's great argument, says: "Like some of the theological arguments, *that one* is to *many* minds—that of James Mill, for example—a direct assault upon Theism; or, in other words, an argument for agnosticism."

naturalism. Since his day, and partly owing to his method, there has been almost a steady decline in the vindication of the supernatural element of Christianity.

So true is this that the very titles of the Deistic works *against* Christianity might most fitly be placed upon the title-page of some of the modern defences of Christianity. For to-day we have this foe, not only without, but also within the very bosom of professed Christianity. The Church's worst foes are those of its own household. Some of these are intentional, covert foes; others are only unwittingly so. Such are some of those who are zealously laboring for the truth of Christianity by trying to prove its *reasonableness*. I am writing chiefly with these in view.

Without mentioning the numerous books that belong to this current class of apologetic literature, I am content to affirm that the end of them, one and all, is that so logically reached and so fearlessly expressed in Professor Seeley's *Natural Religion*—a religion torn from all its supernatural roots, swathings, atmosphere and life.

Thus the pendulum of Christian thought has with many swung to its extreme limit on the natural side. The "sweet reasonableness" of Christianity has been so fully asserted that it now seems to be only *the best* of the various religions of men—their consummate FLOWER—but nothing more, for the *end* of the natural evolution has not yet been reached. Christian teachers who are emphasizing this, the natural and human side of Christianity, are only playing into the hands of its foes; for Rationalists, Pantheists, and even Atheists assert the same. Strauss, Renan, J. S. Mill, and most of their followers, are content to reduce Christianity to the *highest* form of the natural evolution of humanity on its religious side, and are not loath to condescendingly lavish such praise upon it.

In Coleridge's day, Dr. Paley's breakwater school of *external* evidences was pushed so far as to lead him to cry out: "Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it . . . and you may safely trust it to its *own* evidence." This reaction followed, then, in the line of the "*Moral Evidences*" of Christianity—another form of rationalistic apologetics. Coleridge ex-

pressed the core of this system in his famous phrase, "Christianity *finds me*!"—that is, harmonized with, met and satisfied his rational, moral and spiritual needs. Thus, though doing great service, he helped to carry on the reaction and to Anglicize the German Transcendentalism which had even then reached the vortex of Pantheism. The mythical theory was the natural method this school resorted to in its philosophy of Christianity. Coleridge was himself, indeed, very far from reaching that position. "Christianity," he said, "*finds me* in the lowest depth of my being, as no other system can. It meets there my direst needs." Thus he did not attempt to pare down the supernatural in the cold, rationalistic way, but rather strove to *raise the human mind* to the level of Revelation, where mysteries would cease to be mysteries. But in doing this—in insisting upon "the Reason" as the faculty of Inspiration—he reduced Revelation to an elevated and yet to only a *natural* state of the human consciousness. His personal intention and influence were on the side of Christianity, as were also those of most of the members of the Broad Church School, of which he was the Philosophical Coryphæus. Though we can only speak with reverence of F. D. Maurice and some others, we need not hesitate to say that the final outcome of the method of that school has been the merest naturalism. For the good that it has done, it should be esteemed; for the evil of its present ways, it should be abandoned.

Ethical rationalism is another form of naturalism. Of this, Kant was the real father. His *Religion within the Bounds of Pure Reason*, is that of many Christian teachers to-day. Another form is the hydra-headed Hegelianism, which patronizingly evolves *Christianity*, with a host of other truths, from a process of thought. Take the whole school and its work, I think we may unhesitatingly pronounce it to be pantheistic—some exceptions of course to be allowed. I ought perhaps to express a more guarded opinion, but it is fashionable with those who admire rather than understand Hegel, to talk glibly about it, as the absolute and final philosophy. I have studied it sufficiently to confess that either I do not understand it, or that *it is thoroughly pantheistic*, and that his apology for Christianity is utterly

destructive of its own claims. While claiming to the profoundest speculative truths in the mysteries of the faith, *Hegelians* allow these to be only the popular and mythical forms of *moments* in the dialectic process of thought, while talking loftily and condescending of the Holy Trinity; of the incarnation and atonement, of the Word, the Sacraments and of Christianity as the absolute religion, they yet fairly despise these as presented in the Scriptures and the Creeds. Their pantheism enables them to retain the sacred names and venerated formulas, while discarding the sacred realities properly denoted by them. I venture to question whether any thorough going Hegelian Christian esteems the historical facts and dogmas of Christianity as anything better than mythical. Hegel himself, according to Rosenkranz speaks of miracles, and the whole historical supernaturalism of Christianity as having the reality of myth only, and not of fact. God, man, and nature are all engulfed in the logical thought process. Christianity is likewise evolved from this process—a part of it, and like other parts, *subordinate* to it. Deity attains to self-conscious personality through that of man. It reconciles Christianity and philosophy by making *true Christianity* to be one of the products of thought, as popular Christianity is of the imagination. But as Dr. Newman Smythe well remarked, "since the general breaking up of Hegelianism in Germany, it would be a work of supererogation to venture to condense it into any one intelligible English phrase, or to burden our pages with an extended notice of the *great truths* and greater assumptions, which have marked the modern attempt to make the history of man turn itself into a process of thought, and behave itself like a proper Hegelian. We may gladly avail ourselves, however, of the evidence in behalf of the truth that there is reason in all things, and that spirit is everywhere present and active, which is presented by the persistent vitality of idealism in modern philosophy; though we may refuse to entangle our understandings in the mazes of this infinite speculation."*

As the outcome of Kantian and Hegelian idealism has

* Old faiths in new lights, p. 64.

been sheer naturalism, so also has been the result of much of the study of comparative religions. The historical method of investigation is having a triumphal journey o'er the whole continent of learning. As applied by many to the study of "the religions of the world," it is largely aiding in the attempt to de-supernaturalize Christianity. The Christian religion is granted to be the highest and most perfect development that the spirit of humanity has yet reached. Like other religions it springs from the soil, is of purely natural human origin, and differs from them only in degree. In opposition to the Christian view of the origin of all the religion of the world, it assumes that the primitive religions were the lowest, and that by merely natural evolution they have been the efficient or mechanical cause of the later and higher ones. In their Pantheon JESUS is invited to take the throne above JEHOVAH, Jove and all the lesser deities, but there may yet be a higher deity evolved from humanity, who will take the throne above JESUS CHRIST.

Thus Bishop Butler, and Coleridge, Kant, Hegel and the "Comparative Religions" schools, differ as they may in intention and method, have all aided in really widening the breach by false attempts to close it up by either elevating the authority of human reason, or by depressing that of the supernatural revelation. This process, as I have said, has been most graphically illustrated by Professor Seeley's rapid decline from his *Ecce Homo* to his *Natural Religion*.

Nor should we omit all mention of the *chef d'œuvre* of the modern *Ecce Homo* School, that of Dr. Ullmann. In 1833 he published his era-making volume on *The Sinlessness of JESUS*, from which most of the school have freely borrowed without as frankly acknowledging. In fact the best works in this line have only been a following out of the scheme there presented. I well remember the impression the work made upon me,—how it lifted me out of the depths, because with one grand stroke it raised my LORD above all human criticism. He there made the person and the work of CHRIST, the great evidential miracle of Christianity—its irrefutable credential. He there set forth the Historic CHRIST as the great moral miracle of the world. Dr. Chan-

ning, following the same line in his sermon on *The Character of CHRIST*, says, "I am compelled to exclaim with the centurion, 'truly this was the Son of God,'" vol. iv. 20. Dr. John Young in his *CHRIST of History*, and Dr. Horace Bushnell in his famous chapters in his *Natural and Supernatural* set forth the same line of evidence, *i. e.*, JESUS the one great moral evidential miracle.

But I do not wish to now draw attention to this evidence; I believe that it is irrefutable. But I wish chiefly at present to call attention to the *limitations and dangers* of this method. Dr. Ullmann's *Ecce Homo* led him *irresistibly* to an *Ecce Deus*. It has led many others the same heavenly way, just as it did S. Thomas. "*My LORD and my GOD*" was the Apostles logic from the evidence of the real bodily presence of his risen Master.

But there is a method of studying the *man* JESUS that leads from an *Ecce Homo* to the antipodes of an *Ecce Deus*. It is not, perhaps, without significance, that the phrase *Ecce Homo* was first used by the heathen governor Pontius Pilate of the thorn-crowned purple clad JESUS, whom he delivered up to the Jews to be crucified. It was used in a far different sense by the real disciple who some *twenty* years ago wrote the stirring, warming, inspiring book with that title. But is it not on the lips of many to-day, who have read his latest book on *Natural Religion*, to exclaim: He has crucified his LORD afresh! Those who read his first book could repeat S. Thomas' exclamation—"My LORD and my GOD." Those who read his last must sadly exclaim with Mary Magdalene: "they have taken away my LORD and I know not where they have laid him." There is in fact no LORD and GOD in that book which eliminates the supernatural and seems as far as possible to have an antipathy to it.

Renan himself does little less in his romance, *Vie de Jésus*. His JESUS is also, confessedly, the purest, loftiest and most truthful of men and worthy of the place the world has accorded him in its Pantheon. From the four legendary Gospels he constructs an historical one, which, however, closes with the *burial* of JESUS and gives no resurrection of "the life of the world."

When Professor Seeley published his *Ecce Homo*, Lord Shaftesbury denounced it emphatically as manifestly of infernal origin. With such infamous criticism we have no sympathy. But of the evil tendency in the work, I think most Christian teachers have become aware through his latest deliverances in his *Natural Religion*.

But it is no particular book that I would criticise—It is rather a *whole method of evidence*—that method, or those schools of thought which think to sustain Christianity by proving its naturalness, its sweet reasonableness, its lofty morality, its fitness to man's needs, its grand ideals and exemplar—the sentimental, the moral, the rational, the psychological, the anthropological—the *historical*—all but the strictly supernatural line of defense, or rather all of these, when divorced from the supernatural setting. There is, indeed, truth in them all, and all have done great service in the cause of Christianity against unbelief. The full argument for Christianity is both complex and cumulative. It needs all these elements, but it needs them starting from saturated and closing with the *supernatural*. Naturalism has always been too ready to take up with any one of them and guide it in its own grooves. And many true Disciples have not been able to keep this naturalistic element out of their own presentation of Christianity. They say the creed as far as "and was made man" and stumble on through "He descended into hell," and *there alas*, like Renan, *stop*.

I believe that many Christians to-day are ready to say as to much of the modern apologetic "Reasonableness of Christianity," what Coleridge did as to the external evidences of Paley's school: "*Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word.*"

We are weary of such evidences because they so often lead us away from the LORD, and because they no longer have power against the foes of Christianity. The enemy has either seized and turned their guns against Christian Apologists, or they no longer find any great reason for contending with them. The temper too of our foes is fast changing. Finding no valid answer to the question "what is truth;" sceptical as to the results and authority of reason as well as of revelation; passing from rationalism

into Agnosticism; all the arguments for the naturalness and reasonableness of Christianity are wasted upon knowing ears. Agnostics now revile reason as much as ever the most narrow theologians have done.

When in a calm critical mood, these Agnostics consider all philosophies and religions as attractive and valuable, because not one of them is worth destroying or defending. Nor does science really and finally fare better at their hands, for their theory cuts the roots of all valid knowledge of things under the heavens, as well as of things above the earth. The inductive method is no more infallible in the realm of matter, than in the equally unknown realm of mind. Thus different evidence, or rather, other grounds of belief, are in demand by the situation. The authority of reason, from its most transcendental to its most empirical sense, is repudiated. Naturalism has so far ripened to its own destruction. I believe, then, that the growing agnostic temper of the day, sounds the call to Christian teachers to make a strong dogmatic assertion of the supernatural side of Christianity and of the authority of its revelation, and therefore I repeat my first assertion, that the trend of Apologetics to day should unquestionably be towards the stronger maintenance of the supernatural character of the origin, growth, life and future of Christianity.

To perhaps a large number of a certain class of minds in the Church, all this criticism and assertion may sound needless. To such it may merely be said that it springs from, and is based upon a large current school of Christian thought that is stronger *without* than within the Church.

To others it may sound like the cry of an alarmist and an extremist. But I believe that it voices the growing conviction of many who have been through all the methods criticised; who, perhaps, have gone from a devout *Ecce Homo* almost to such a sweet reasonableness of Christianity, as to scarcely feel the need of the historic CHRIST, who have been carried by the flood of modern Apologetics—sentimental, philosophical and logical—to the arid desert of a bare naturalism. There are doubtless many who, having been enthusiasts with the most enthusiastic of the best forms of the modern schools, and having received great help from

them all and still acknowledging elements of truth in them, yet recognize their logical, and fear their actual outcome in that naturalism that is only "of the earth earthy."

Such should be ready to maintain, for the good of the Church and the world, the supernatural side of Christianity, to assert that it, as well as nature and man, is to be considered and understood *sub specie æternitatis*, rather than only *sub specie mundi*. The Church, the light of the dark ages, was Theo-centric, or, to coin a new word, ourano-centric. The extreme reaction of Protestantism has been anthropo-centric, almost lapsing to-day into the *geo-centric* tendency of the most enlightened modern heathen. This *earth* is all; and man only one of its natural products, and Christianity one of his necessary creations. From this centre none may rise heaven-ward. Induction can make no such mighty leap.

Of it, as of man, the poet's words are true:

" * * * unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man."

But may there not be a supernatural power energizing and really completing the inductive process, as there may one descend from Heaven to help man above himself? "No man hath ascended up to Heaven but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of man which is in Heaven." S. Paul adds that he ascended again in order "that he might fulfil all things." Eph. iv. 10.

These sacred words may serve to return answer to the question: What is to take the place of the current popular rationalistic Apologetics? It is a return to the age of faith in the supernatural—an assertion of the descent and ascent of a supernatural life, abiding still on earth and drawing all men to itself that it may lead them upwards to their true relations with the absolute supernatural. There is no longer danger of neglecting to consider man *sub specie mundi*, but there is great need of considering him *sub specie æternitatis*. It is, indeed, an age of light in regard to all natural terrestrial relations, but there is danger of its becoming an age of darkness in regard to all supernatural, eternal relations of man. What is needed in this darkness

of this age of light, is more of the light of the old ages of darkness—more of the true light of the world, which, like the sun, is not of, but is above, the earth.

In fact the one thing that Apologetics has to do to-day is to vindicate the SUPERNATURAL character of Christianity against all merely naturalistic explanations, whether of friends or foes.

Of course no such folly is meant as that of denying the work that has been done, and is now being done in this work by almost all the schools criticized. All that is desired is to call attention to the unconscious lapsing of many into the very gulf whence they would extricate others; to urge the necessity of all apologists while using these various arguments, not to do so as if Christianity depended upon their effectiveness; not to be satisfied with showing the *great probability of the truth* of Christianity; in a word, not to place the whole scope and power of evidences on the plane of *induction*, without putting *back* of induction the supernatural element which alone can raise it above the earth. This is the manifest fault of the otherwise admirable book of Prof. Fred G. Wright, *The Logic of Christian Evidences*, which modernizes Bishop Butler's argument in as much as it aims chiefly to show by the inductive method, that the most *probable inference* as to Christianity is its historical truth. The inductive method when used *alone* is necessarily atheistic: only when it is in its natural synthesis with the deductive method, as the organic correlation of the finite and the infinite, does it have its full and true worth. And that is where we must place it in all these various modern arguments for Christianity.

The supernatural is at the beginning, middle, and is to be at the close of the Christian dispensation. Christianity is supernatural—from above nature, or it is nothing. It is not, indeed, contrary to or out of connection with the natural, which is only another form of the manifestation of God. Christianity comes down into this manifestation, which we call nature, and is, as it were, married to it, or rather the two rush into union by virtue of their heaven-born kinship. Christian teachers of other ages may be

blamed for denying this connection of the two, for isolating the supernatural entirely from its connection with the natural; for maintaining the Divinity of CHRIST so as to virtually deny this humanity and the authority of Revelation, so as to abjure that of reason.

But the dangerous tendency of late, to which I call attention, has been just the opposite of this—to dwell upon the *natural* side of the relation—upon the perfect humanity of CHRIST, the human element in inspiration, the human characteristics of the Church, ministry and sacraments—in fact the natural and human side of every fact, doctrine and power of Christianity. *This side we by no means deny.* But we are reaping the penalty for some of our ancestors having denied it. That is, the vindication that it deserved has been super-triumphantly made. It has received such emphasis as to virtually annihilate the supernatural; or it has been so elevated that it has been able to explain, embrace, and contain the supernatural. This proper vindication of the natural, human element in Christianity has been so urged by Christian Apologists themselves, that Christianity no longer seems to be very widely separated from that unbelief which maintains that the contents of Revelation are merely the product of human reason, sentiment and imagination. The English Deists criticized Revelation as it was held isolated from and in antagonism with Reason and Nature.

The Christian Apologist of that day fairly and thoroughly routed them on their own ground, and established the harmony between them. To-day, however, Sceptics assail Christianity on the very *ground of this harmony*. Christianity, they assert, is perfectly natural, though confessedly the highest development hitherto reached by the Religious Spirit of man. Reason includes Revelation. The natural is the source of the supernatural. Hence, I affirm that we must resort to the very mode of tactics used by the Deistic opponents of Christianity, *i. e.*, set Revelation in antagonism with Reason—the supernatural with the natural—and thus *undo*, in a measure, the harmonizing work of previous Apologists; at least to so assert the supernatural side

of Christianity, that it cannot be swallowed up in the natural. As another* has said:

The book wanted for the England of the Eighteenth Century was preëminently a Butler's *Analogy*, a treatise to establish the points of agreement in the Divine and human records. The book wanted by the England of our age has not yet appeared, but when it does appear it will be a treatise whose central aim and object will be the opposite of Butler's *Analogy*—the establishment of the proposition that the Divine record is not merely the latest flower of human thought, not merely the last effort of human speculation, but something which was in advance of the humanity of its own time and something which is still in advance of the humanity of every age.

Admirably and clearly as this need is realized and stated, and admirably and eloquently as he sets forth the "originality of the Character of CHRIST," he does not get beyond the *Ecce Homo* School of thought nor beyond the inductive method of evidences, which does not carry victory to Christian thought. Matthew Arnold and J. S. Mill have both recorded in the strongest terms their conviction that the portrait of JESUS was above its Jewish delineators, and Theodore Parker could eloquently exclaim: "It would have taken a JESUS to forge a JESUS," though he eliminated supernatural from the Gospel portrait.

The failure here, as in all the other able expositions of this argument from the character and work of CHRIST, is due to attributing it more than it conveys to opponents. It is due, let me say at once, to its underlying rationalistic presumption that by some method, logic can force reason to the reception of a Rational revelation; that in receiving a revelation, reason must be the arbiter (for which canon Bishop Butler is responsible); that Revelation cannot have an authority of its own; that the Creeds are not just as valid starting points for a science as the material world or the truths of Reason; that the supernatural can be ascended up unto from the natural by force of reasoning.

We are still to maintain the organic nexus of the Divine and human, of the supernatural and natural, as in the God-man, CHRIST JESUS. But we need to throw the emphasis on the supernatural side of the nexus, to assert *that* part of Christ which is from above the earth, beyond the dialectic-

* Geo. Matheson, in *The Contemporary Review*, November, 1878.

tic process of thought, or the utmost romanticizing of the fancy and feelings of man. The world is ready for this because nihilism as to being, Agnosticism as to knowledge, and pessimism as to eschatology, is the logical and rapidly becoming *actual* outcome of all mere rationalism and naturalism.*

This abyss of absolute scepticism is the yawning grave that receives all purely naturalistic processes of enquiry—all so-called positivism in life, philosophy and religion.

Some years ago, in certain quarters, there was a famous cry of "Rationalism or Romanism." Let us substitute for the sectarian name of Romanism the more universal—"the Catholic Church," and we need not shrink from accepting the latter alternative. It is either Rationalism or "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth," which by its very constitution must always be the exponent of *Super-naturalism*. This, of course, is not to be done so as to exclude God from the *natural* world, *all* of whose forces and laws are *manifestations* of His ceaseless

* The following is worth quoting from *A Candid Examination of Theism*, by a writer calling himself "Physicus: "

Speaking of the evidences for the moral attributes of God, in the light of modern science, he says: "If it had been my lot to have lived in the last generation, I should certainly have rested in these 'Sublime Conceptions' as an argument supreme and irrefutable. . . . But now how changed! Never, in the history of man has so terrific a calamity befallen the race as that which all who look may now behold advancing as a deluge, black with destruction, resistless in might, uprooting our most cherished hopes, engulfing our most precious creed and burying our highest life in mindless desolation. . . . So far as I am individually concerned, the result of this analysis has been to show that, whether I regard the problem of Theism on the lower plane of strictly relative probability, or on the higher plane of purely formal considerations, it equally becomes my obvious duty to stifle all belief of the kind I conceive to be the noblest, and to discipline my intellect with regard to this matter into an attitude of the purest scepticism. And . . . I am not ashamed to confess that, with this virtual negation of God, the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness; and although from henceforth the precept 'work while it is day' will doubtless but gain an intensified force from the terribly intensified meaning of the words, 'the night cometh when no man can work,' yet when at times I think, as think I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine, and the lonely misery of existence as I now find it—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible."—Quoted by Prof. Trint, p. 354 of *Anti-Theistic Theories*.

activity—one *side* only, however, of His boundless energizing. God in ordinary nature, man, reason, history, but also God above and beyond all these, Who has for us men and for our salvation manifested OTHER than *these His natural energies* and habits. The inferential overwhelming probability of the truth of Christianity as derived from all the lines of argument on the inductive basis is very good as an *argumentum ad hominum* against those who decline anything but so-called "positive" knowledge. But it is an argument that does not reach God; and that cannot do more than recommend Christianity as the greatest perhaps, and that cannot save any from the equally open alternative of Agnosticism.

The starting point then must be found elsewhere—in the faith once delivered, in the Church of the living God, in the infallibility of its truth. The infallibility of the Church has often been maintained in most crude and formal ways, but this should not deter us from upholding its vital truth. The essential nature of Christianity as held by the Church, that must be our starting point.

Christianity should do what it is capable of doing—take not merely a defensive, but an offensive, aggressive attitude in its apologetics. It can assume that it is not on trial, but can marshal all its enemies to the bar of reason, history and dogma. For, as another says:

It has the prescriptive right of possession and favor; its roots are imbedded in the depths of the broad earth and wind round among its ribbed rocks, and its branches wave high, overshadowing and fruitful, so that the nations of the earth lodge beneath them. And infidelity has got to dislodge them before it can even begin to build its own temple on and with the ruins. Neither the end of the world or of Christianity seems to be very near yet; and there is a fair chance that the world may end first.

Christianity is *not* "as old as Creation," and yet we may allow that it has its roots imbedded in the creation and all history since then. The supernatural has always been in connection with the natural—God in creation, nature, man and history. And it is the part of Natural Theology to maintain this and thus to give prophecy and possibility of a special supernatural revelation. It is to deny that the natural is ever *merely the natural*, and to claim for what is so called a *supernatural naturalism*.

This work of Philosophy and Natural Theology may then fairly be placed even *before* what we have said should be our starting point—the faith once delivered. It can maintain the reality of God and His activity, but it cannot reach up to the truth of Christianity. But it can maintain, as preparatory to Christianity, that God is *the other* and the *infinite side* of everything finite; that every finite thing is in indissoluble organic union with the infinite; that man is naturally and essentially related to the supernatural. It has been in this affirmation, that German thought has done so much in the warfare with the empirical philosophy that divorces God and nature. God in nature, God in man and God in history—the maintenance of these is no slight part of the apologetic work of the age and we cannot lightly part with the philosophy that maintains them. The best recent exposition of this is to be found in Dr. Caird's *Philosophy of Religion* and in Dr. Mulford's *Republic of God*. However much both of these works may be open to criticism as expositions of historical Christianity, they are unequalled as works on Natural Theology, and that, too, with the emphasis placed upon the supernatural side of so-called Natural Theology.

In fact neither of the authors mentioned intended to give an exposition of *historical* Christianity. The maintenance of the natural and indissoluble organic union of man with God as the basis for any religion whatever, and especially for Christianity, is evidently the scope of their design. The work they have done I conceive to be of great worth to this materialistic and agnostic day. They have restated the Eternal truths of man's natural Eternal relations. Natural Theology can vindicate the supernatural, the possibility of a special manifestation of it and our ability to receive such a manifestation. But it stops far short of Christianity. No Natural Theology can prove Christianity. No human philosophy can evolve it. But we can go to their utmost limits, without being compelled to go to their wildest extremes. We can, nay, we must, accept the valid deliverances of human thought on this theme. There is such a thing as the authority of Reason and such a faculty as *belief* in man. But there is also such a thing as the authori-

ty of Revelation, which the same power of belief accepts. Revelation may be *conformable* to the ideal Reason, though *above* it, and yet it does not derive its authority from it. *Belief* gives *it* authority as it gives authority to Reason. So we must ultimately and absolutely maintain the independent validity of Revelation. The faith once delivered then must be at the beginning, and not only at the end of our apologetic method. It is not the ideal CHRIST of philosophy that we believe in. It is the CHRIST of the Creeds. A CHRIST created by philosophy, or discovered by criticism is not the CHRIST needed by the world. We must be content and glad to affirm the CHRIST of the Gospels and the Creeds, which answer, yea, to every question: "Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?"

Even though the Supernatural be to many to-day the stone of stumbling, yet we cannot yield one iota of those supernatural facts, so briefly summarized in the Creeds.

Starting from and holding firmly this assured possession of the faith once delivered, we may then safely and triumphantly go on with all the lines of inductive "proofs of Christianity" so called, the historical evidences; the adaptation of Christianity to meet all the deeper wants—the CHRIST-want—of the individual and society, and to solve all the philosophical, moral and practical enigmas of life; that from its achievements; that from the greater probability of the Church's own account of its origin and life compared with any sceptical theory, and especially that from the person and character of CHRIST—not the *Ecce Homo*, but the *Ecce Deus Homo*, which convinced the Centurion and countless millions since his day. This "What think ye of Christ" is the greatest stone of stumbling that can be placed in the way of aggressive assaults of sceptical critics. It is unanswerable. And it is well that it is being made the foremost question, we ask the opponents of Christianity. What think ye of the CHRIST, not merely of eighteen centuries ago, but also of the Christ who has ever since been living on and energizing in his body of humiliation—the Church—JESUS CHRIST, the same to-day and forever as yesterday? This last is the line of argument so fully presented by Prebendary Row in his Bampton Lecture for 1877—being an

enlargement of the scope of that so ably urged by Dr. Ullmann, Dr. Bushnell, Dr. Newman Smythe and a host of able apologists.

The *Ecce Homo* can only be satisfactory when correlated with an *Ecce Deus*; just as Nature can only be understood by being held in its organic connection with the supernatural; the finite with its correlate of the infinite, and man with his correlate of God—the sum of all categories of Thought and Being.

Many qualifications, explanations, developement of statements, together with worthy notice of modern Christian apologists seems very desirable in such a paper as this. But I must be content with this reiteration of the evils and the remedy, in the bulk.

J. MACBRIDE STERRETT.

A LOST LITURGICAL ENRICHMENT.

THE Joint Committee on Enrichment and Flexibility of the Prayer Book could not have overlooked the dislocations in the Communion Office, which have been endured by the Anglican branch of the Church for three hundred and thirty-one years. They are too well known and too sorely felt by all English speaking Liturgists. They have been too often mentioned and too bitterly deplored to have escaped the notice of the Committee. Probably they did not know how fully ripe the American Church is, and how gladly it is ready to adopt at once any real improvements. Even those which commend themselves merely to an enlightened reason the Committee dared to propose; and they found a ready response in the General Convention to any clear, though mere arguments from reason. Why a most reasonable return to a natural order, a restoration of a lost enrichment, a resetting of broken and deranged limbs, a resumption of what *grew* and was not

made, was not proposed by them, is capable possibly of explanation. They may have felt that they could rearrange and improve the lesser parts, or, rather, adjuncts of the Liturgy proper; but that the very Liturgy itself had better stand as it is; better in view of the practicability of the whole, not better for the Office viewed as to its greatest efficiency.

Although Liturgists have long known and felt what a halting and deranged thing our Communion Office is, as we now have it; probably the great body of our worshipers do not know what reckless liberties were taken with it by the reforming missionaries from the Continent, who attempted, between A.D. 1549 and A.D. 1552, to readjust the Church of England. Before that, we had the Liturgy as it had grown up. Afterwards we had, and yet retain, a readjusted growth. The foreign wise men of that time took the living thing to pieces, put its members into an order that suited their excited judgments, and made a jumble of the whole. The fact that the Liturgy has survived this treatment shows how hard it is to destroy a living thing. It suggests a new argument to those who think that Liturgies, being the forms of most central and highest Christian worship, were inspired by the HOLY GHOST in very primitive times, and have been since watched over by His brooding care. If they were inspired, they of course were in accord with natural order and reasonable arrangement. When thrown out of this order they yet lived through the Spirit, Who is to them, as to all good things, the LORD and Giver of Life.

Very little need be done, in order to come back to the old "use." Not a word nor a line need be added. To return to the figure, all that is wanted is to put back dislocated limbs into their relative positions, and then we shall have a whole as it grew.

Times we know have changed, while habits of faith and devotion have changed with them. It is not needful to disregard these points. The Prayer for the Church Militant might remain where we have it. We are not yet ready to deny the crowds, who do not stay for Communion, the privilege of making common offerings with the faithful; and we hope that the alms and oblations put on God's

Altar before their eyes, with prayer for their acceptance, may be beneficial even to souls that will not stay to feed on the Bread of Heaven. But, that prayer being over, and the dead march played on the organ, and the crowd gone forth into its own world, what is the natural feeling in the few souls that remain for the highest act of worship? Pity and sorrow are felt for those who go away; but it is quickly followed by a feeling of high anticipation and eager longing. The world is now outside. The doors are closed. The dead march ceases. The hush of holy quietude settles upon the kneeling worshippers. Whatever their several theological views may be, they have now one common tone of feeling. They, who regard the Holy Communion merely as a reminder to them of the efficient sacrifice, made in suffering but productive of propitiation, are uplifted in spirit; for they know and are assured that they are about to enter upon the most solemn act of their worship, and upon the enjoyment in their hearts and minds of the very highest and sweetest and deepest of the appointed means of grace. They believe and feel that their LORD is coming to them, to set anew on them the seal of His love. They also, who regard the whole office of the Communion as a veritable and real joining in that mystic but glorious worship, which, by the eternity of the LORD, brings into one the Institution, the Cross, the Ceaseless Presentation in Heaven, with the assured descent of the Life Giver; these are waiting for the coming Priest-victim Who is sure to be with them, and Whom, with Eucharistic love, they may adore, while they take from Him, through appointed human priests, the "meat indeed" and the "drink indeed."

Theological differences may turn the thoughts towards this or that conception of sacrifice; but they need not and should not sever the hearts that are alike and together, bowing in hushed and eager expectation.

Imagine the rush of cold, dark waters that chill these souls, when what they first hear is a little sermonette, upon that most elementary of all Christian duties, simple penitence. Surely penitence may here be taken for granted. These eager and longing faithful ones, looking for nearest approach of and to their Saviour, may be supposed to have

passed through penitence, and to be alive with faith. Hope is ruling and filling them now, soaring hope, sweet hope, loving hope, such as pilgrims feel in the dark, as the beams shine forth from the coming One, Who is to lead them homeward, be their companion by the way, and feed them as they go.

This incongruity of chilling exhortation to penitence, continues in our *new* Liturgic order, with the Lesser Exhortation. In it we are bidden to "draw near with faith and take this Holy Sacrament." What sacrament? There is none made ready. Only preparatory oblations have been offered. These are not in any complete sense the Sacrament. Are the eager souls of these worshipers now mocked, as before they were chilled? Again the dark, icy waters flow, while on bended knee the general Confession is made, the higher Absolution given, comfortable words are said as to sorrowing souls; and then what? Why, at last, "Lift up your hearts"! The service has done all it could to press the heart down; and now, having succeeded perhaps in plunging it into the depths, brings forth another incongruous call, as if it expected forsooth human souls to be elastic enough to spring up of themselves out of the deep.

Turn now to the old, at least natural, perhaps inspired, order of the Liturgy. The world is outside. The children are alone together in their FATHER'S house. His table is spread. The feast is preparing. Their souls are quickening. Their LORD is nigh. His greatest gift is about to meet their sorest need. The general hush is broken. The little sermonette has not yet crossed the channel and the sea. The voice of the minister, the appointed priest, utters appropriate words. They quicken the ears and unbend the knees. "Lift up your hearts," he cries. Up springing, the eager worshipers respond: "We lift them up unto the LORD." "Let us give thanks to our LORD GOD." "It is meet and right so to do." "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O LORD, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God."

"Therefore with Angels and Archangels and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify Thy Holy Name;

evermore praising Thee and saying Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD
 GOD of Hosts, * * * * *

Who are now together in the temple of the LORD. Surely more than the eye seeth; more than the mortals who bear the burden of the flesh; more than the mortal priest ministering at the Altar; even the messengers of the LORD, the guardians of the worshiping children, out of heaven looking on, coming amid, even entering into preparing and waiting souls!

Next, into the ears of the seen and unseen assembly, the priest's voice rises again, pitched at the same tone, proceeding in a congruous measure, "All glory be to Thee, Almighty GOD, our heavenly Father. for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy, didst give Thine only SON, JESUS CHRIST, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption."

Here a shade passes across the lively souls of the worshipers. A sad and tender memory mingles with their joy. They begin to think what the source of their joy, the means of salvation, has cost. A heavenly chastening, not an earth-born chill, turns the flow of feeling into a deeper channel. The rock whence they were hewn, the hole of the pit whence they were digged, come to mind. Gently, though profoundly moved, their hearts suspend their exultation, and the whole person bows in awe. The service proceeds. The consecration is made. The real presence, to those who believe in it, is now an accomplished fact. On the Divine side, in God's eternity, the cross, that is in the human past, becomes present. Calvary and the furnished Christian altar are conjoined. Time and space, as they are nothing in fact to God, pass away before the faith of the worshipers. By faith they know and are assured that the heavenly feast is fully provided, and that what they are about to feed upon is the "true bread from Heaven." Possibly the theology of some worshipers may at this point lead them to indulge in some bad, mediæval metaphysics, and put the presence in a defined conception that is neither scientific nor philosophical. What if they do? What if they think they can separate substance from accident? It is their own affair. It need not disturb sympathy in those who hold the reality and rest in a glowing

mystery. Nor need it disturb those whose theology leads them to rest satisfied in the merely symbolic. The devotional conception is one in every case. All alike draw nearest to their LORD, the one High Priest, the true Sacrifice and Sacrificer. All alike are in joyful expectation of being fed by Him, through His mortal minister's hands, "to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls by the Body and Blood of CHRIST, as their bodies are by the bread and wine."

Still the suffering comes into view with the sacrifice. The real thing, expected with exultation, brings holy sadness into the soul. By easy transition, joyful hope has given place to chastened sorrow. The tone of worship begins to sink into a penitential key.

Now follows the great Oblation. The priest says not "I offer," as if he were doing all for the people, but "we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make." Priest and people join together—whether in symbol or reality need not be asked—in holding up before God in Heaven "the one Oblation * * once offered." Whether symbolically or really, all actually join in the heavenly transaction, wherein "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" is presenting and presented continually, as the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, before the very central manifest presence of the Father. Awe deepens, solemnity grows. We sinners stand in one communion together. Our LORD is with us, before His Father, and our Father. We behold in faith the true mediation. We are abashed, yet not driven away. Our sins are in mind, but the atonement is complete.

Priest and people continue their worship, before the LORD's Table, the "altar we have," and make the Invocation. Not worthy he, not worthy we to spread the feast upon the sacrifice. The LORD and Giver of Life only can make the food prepared to "nourish us up into everlasting life." We ask that the HOLY SPIRIT may join with Him, Who has ordered the feast, in making it to us real and life-giving. "O Merciful Father hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with Thy Word and HOLY SPIRIT, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and

wine; that we, receiving them according to Thy SON our Saviour JESUS CHRIST's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

The threefold, memorial sacrifice is completed. The consecration made, the oblation offered, the SPIRIT, the fire of God, the Life-giver has descended. Sorrow, awe, penitence rise on the surface of hope. All worshipers together join in the offering of self-sacrifice; and, beseeching its acceptance through JESUS CHRIST, thus bring the whole "Prayer of Consecration" to a close. First silence follows! Then a plaintive hymn! Now penitential forms of devotion are timely and appropriate. "Ye who do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins," would sound here on hearts prepared. The reminder of the solemn obligations of love, of charity, and of obedience is congruous with the time, the occasion, and the solemnized souls of the faithful worshipers. "Take this holy Sacrament to your comfort" means something, for the Sacrament is made ready. How much it means, each soul in the Divine presence may know, at least in part, for itself. None can know about another. Only GOD and ourselves know. He, not afar off, but nigh, and we bending humbly, penitently, but even yet hopefully before Him, the preparation for the partaking proceeds. The greater Confession may be now made by souls well prepared. The higher Absolution follows. The comfortable words are spoken. The Prayer of Humble Access is made in common. Now, at last, all that need be done is finished, and the feast proceeds through distribution to its final completion.

Can any order be made, or conceived, more natural, more reasonable, more congruous, more edifying! This order we had, until men from abroad came over to England, bent upon reforming her reformation. They were not liturgists. The liturgical spirit was quite absent from their minds. They were filled with one idea. A most important, useful, even essential idea! They were mad with a holy indignation at abuses which tended strongly to bury out of sight the duty of personal penitence. They were zealous for man's right to stand, person to person, in the very presence

of GOD. They were keenly alive to the duty of personal confession of sins to GOD Himself. Nor are they to be simply faulted for their zeal. They took part, through this very zeal, in a real reformation. Emancipation of GOD's own freedmen proceeded in both Church and State. Their works follow them. This age is a partaker of their labors. Every man that feels his natural godlikeness, commends their firm resistance to tyranny. Every Christian soul that recognizes its own personal relation to the GOD-man, clings tenaciously to his right to make his confession—whatever helps he may use—directly to his LORD, and acknowledges solemnly his duty to make that confession deep, and full, and real, and without reserve.

Naturally, these men from across the waters endeavored to establish in insular England the true doctrine of penitence. Its constant repetition would strengthen the doctrine. They were ready to put it in everywhere. They thought it could not be too often brought forward, nor anywhere be misplaced. The Liturgy was the place of places in which to make it prominent. They found it there already, but they thought they could improve upon the order. Hence that impertinent (in an etymological sense) little sermonette! Hence the dislocation of the living order of the proper Liturgy! Hence that daring tampering with a natural growth; perhaps that profane disruption of an inspired order!

We honour the zeal of these reformers from the continent. We sympathize with the earnest coöperation of the English reformers. We bear the hurt to our worship with patience, because we recognize the earnest desire which caused it. We do not, however, accord with the judgment upon which they acted. We think they defeated their own end. Penitence, even personal penitence, was checked rather than promoted. Putting the penitential service in the wrong place, operated against rather than for their own object.

For the very promotion of true and deep personal penitence, itself, therefore, let us have our Liturgy as it was at the first! For all the purposes of liturgical worship, let us by all means, have back our old, inestimably rich, and most practical, order!

The substance of this paper was presented before the last General Convention, in the form of an amendment to the report of the joint committee. It was not advocated on the floor, because I was compelled to be absent during the last two days of the session. It is now humbly submitted to the American Church. If our communicants generally become as well aware of the facts, as our liturgists have long been, their voices will certainly not be wanting, nor weak, in demanding a restoration of this lost enrichment. Not one, who informs himself upon the point, and ponders upon it, can fail to commend the common judgment of all liturgists, that we have been despoiled. The rigidity of constitutional law may keep us out of our devotional rights for more perhaps than one period of three years; but if a general demand and strong cry go up, perhaps even our most conservative General Convention may heed it. We are impoverished now. Our Communion Office has in itself the materials for perfect or at least nearly perfect liturgical worship. We need not ask for more than we have. We may ask, and the tone should be unmistakable, that we have back what strangers have taken from us; so that, in our highest form of worship, we may be permitted, from beginning to end, to worship in the SPIRIT.

B. FRANKLIN.

THE PRIMITIVE LITURGIES.

Liturgies, Eastern and Western. By C. E. HAMMOND, M. A. A reprint of texts, either original or translated, of the most representative Liturgies of the Church. Oxford, 1878.

The Liturgies, Original and Translated. By REVS. DRS. NEALE and LITTEDALE. London, 1869.

The Worship of the Old Covenant. By REV. E. F. WILLIS, M. A. London, 1880.

The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews. A Commentary on the Epistle in its Relation to the Holy Eucharist. London: By JAS. E. FIELD. 1882.

ONE of the happy results of the great Church movement of the last fifty years is the revival of *Liturgical Studies*; opening one of the richest and most delightful fields of theological science; helping us better to understand and appreciate the priceless treasures of devotion in the Book of Common Prayer; kindling anew the sacred fires at our altars; giving us, in place of former barrenness and coldness, majesty and beauty in Divine service, visible in its temples and in every accessory of worship; and now, in this first centenary of the Church of the United States, bringing forth good fruit in the effort at "Liturgical Enrichment." We cannot be too grateful for the learned labors of recent authors, Neale, Littledale, Freeman, Blunt, Willis, Ford, who have brought forth things new and old, showing us that "the King's daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of wrought gold."

While this revival has been going on in the Church, the outside religious bodies have felt its influence. An increasing dissatisfaction with extemporaneous worship, with a steady drift to the Church, has awakened among them an earnest desire and demand for the construction of a formulary of devotion for public worship. They are not likely to adopt the time-honored Book whose devotions are built up

on the truth of the Incarnation and of Sacramental Grace, but, in any effort to imitate its glory and beauty, they will see it is not easy to make a substitute; that a Liturgy is not an assortment of prayers made in a month, but a growth of time, and in putting their modern utterances beside the majestic strains of the Saints of old, they will realize how hard it is to "match cloth of frieze and cloth of gold."

That the worship of the Church was celebrated liturgically, from the first, is sufficiently evident. A book of ritual for the ceremonial of the Christian Altar was not incorporated in the New Testament, as was done by Moses in giving the Old Testament, in the book of Leviticus. The books of the New Testament were not given to the Church at first; not until she had been doing her work for generations. And all that time, from Pentecost on, the Church had been celebrating the Holy Eucharist, weekly or daily. Our LORD left it with the Apostles to set in order everything relating to public worship, after having instructed them for forty days after His Resurrection concerning the things of His Kingdom. As the New Testament books, Acts and Epistles speak of a Kingdom which had been at work for a long time, we are not to expect in them complete directions for worship; for the worship was well known to them to whom these writings were addressed. What we find there must be, in the main, incidental allusions to the existing order of things, with corrections of occasional irregularity. The Church's order was a *Divine* order, because set in operation by inspired Apostles. And, as has been well said, "What Apostles *did*, at first, in setting the Kingdom in order, was as *Divine* as what they *wrote* about it."

Now, referring to the Apostolic writings, we find some incidental allusions, all of which indicate Liturgical worship; none of them are inconsistent with such an use. Immediately after the descent of the HOLY GHOST (as we are told in the inspired Record), the disciples "continued in the Doctrine and in the Fellowship of the Apostles, and in the *Breaking of the Bread*, and in the *Prayers*;" that they came together on the first day of the week "*to Break Bread*." From this we infer that they celebrated the Holy

Eucharist on the LORD's Day; and that *the* Prayers used for that ministration were a Liturgy.

In Acts xiii., we are told that certain prophets and teachers at Antioch were ministering (λεειτουργούντων—Liturgizing) to the LORD. This implies probably that they were engaged in a frequent celebration of the Eucharist.

That the Liturgies were formulated before the New Testament was given, explains some of S. Paul's quotations, seemingly from the Scriptures, which are *not* found in the Old Testament, but which *are* found in the *Liturgies*. Thus, "*as it is written*" (says he), "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him." (1 Cor., ii., 9.) We are commonly referred to Isa., lxiv., 4, for the text here quoted by the Apostle; but the learned assure us that the words of the prophet are utterly different in sense and expression.

It was a tradition accepted by the Fathers of the Nicene age and immediately afterward, that certain Liturgies in use in their day had come down from the Apostles. Such a tradition was not so remote or obscure as to be uncertain. They had received it from those who lived in times of suffering and martyrdom; when Christians, in peril of their lives and dying for their faith, were not likely to be inventing fables to hand on to posterity.

The word LITURGY, from the Greek, λειτουργός, signifies, literally, a public service; applied to *secular* matters, it signified a civil or public function. It was adopted into ecclesiastical use to signify a public *religious* service. It is used in the Septuagint, applied to the priestly offices of the Law. It is found in the New Testament; as in S. Luke, i. 23, where it is said of Zacharias, the priest, whose lot it was to offer incense, that as soon as the days of his *ministration* (λεειτουργίας, his liturgizing) were accomplished, etc. So in Hebrews x. 11, it is said: "Every priest standeth daily ministering (λεειτουργῶν) and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices." So in Acts xiii., as we have seen, it is applied to the functions of the Christian ministry; the prophets and teachers at Antioch were *ministering* (λεειτουργούντων, liturgizing) unto the LORD. In Romans xv. 16, S. Paul

calls himself *a* (not *the*) minister (λεειτουργόν, a liturgist) of JESUS CHRIST for the Gentiles, ministering (ἱερουργοῦντα, serving as a priest), that the oblation (προσφορά) of the Gentiles might be acceptable to God." And so in Hebrews viii. 2, CHRIST is called a High Priest, a Minister (λεειτουργός, a liturgist) of the Sanctuary. In this use of the word, observe that the ministration is performed, not to men, but toward God as the Object. The prophets and teachers ministered "*unto the Lord*," and the ministry of CHRIST, our Liturgist in the Heavens, is, of course, unto God for men.

The Holy Eucharist, being the one specific service appointed by our LORD for the worship of His Church, the term LITURGY was appropriated to that service; and the *Office* for its celebration was also called the Liturgy. Popularly, this name is *now* given to *any* formulary of public worship; we often call the Prayer Book, the Liturgy of our Church. In the early ages of the Church there was no such confusion of names; the offices for rites and occasions other than the Holy Eucharist had their own distinctive titles, but *this* alone was called *the Liturgy*. We shall use the word now in its proper theological sense.

It must be accepted among scholars as certain that Liturgical offices existed in the early Church. If the quotations from the sacred Scriptures, found so often in the writings of the Fathers, prove *their* existence, it must be granted that the references to the language and ceremonies of the Liturgical offices, found in the same Fathers, prove the existence of such formularies. Liturgical quotations are less frequent and distinct in the works of the *very* early writers than in those of the Nicene age, and soon after; and the same is true of quotations from the *Scriptures*: but in the case of the Liturgies there was, in that early day, a reason for this reserve which did not obtain afterward. In the first three centuries the Christian Mysteries, as the Sacraments were called, were kept secret from the uninitiated; and every thing in regard to the Holy Eucharist especially was veiled. None but communicants, "the faithful," who had been instructed, were allowed to be present at celebrations; and whenever reference was made in public discourse to anything connected with the Sacrament, it

was done in a very indistinct way, accompanied with the remark, "The initiated will understand." This reticence was to preserve their holy rites, and especially the Eucharist, so liable to misrepresentation, from the profane and blasphemous scoffs of unbelievers; and to keep their sacred books from the persecutor. But as the world became Christian this reserve was not maintained; and the offices and usages of the Church were freely spoken of. The works of such writers as Cyril, Chrysostom, Augustine, and others, living so near the Nicene age, when Christianity became the religion of the Empire, contain such frequent allusions to the Liturgical Service, and such full quotations from it, that an ancient Liturgy, in form and substance, (it is said) might almost be constructed from them. In the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril, A. D. 350 (only twenty-five years after the Council of Nice), we have, among other accounts of the doctrines and rites of the Church, an explanation of *The Liturgy* in use at that time, and without doubt, from the first, in Jerusalem. S. Basil the Great enlarged and enriched the same Liturgy about the year 370, "following the customs of the Church," he says; and this revision, which bears his name, was adopted in the Eastern Church, and is still in use in the Greek and Russian Churches. Now, all these Fathers recognized the Liturgies they used to be a genuine and authentic inheritance transmitted from the Apostolic age. Doubtless *additions* were made to these Liturgies, by authority, in later periods: but, from the quotations and references found in the earlier writers, and from the known state of doctrine in given periods, the learned are able to distinguish between the portions which formed the originals and the additions of a later period. As there is no hint of the time when the Liturgies were introduced; as they have always borne Apostolic names; as they were used so universally in all the world, and are in such substantial agreement in form and substance, the conclusion seems irresistible that they date from the beginnings of the Church.

The argument for the Apostolic origin of the Liturgies, from the *historic* standpoint, is very convincing. Let us look at it. Our LORD instituted the Holy Eucharist

in the night in which He suffered, immediately after He, with his disciples, had partaken of, and fulfilled forever, the Passover. And He then commanded His Apostles that they should Do THIS (*Ποιεῖτε*—*be Doing This*); that is *Offer This*, as He had just done, for His Memorial, until His coming again. This one only service was henceforth to be “the *Pure Offering*” (Mal. i., 11), the Mincha oblation of the Catholic Church, of which prophets had spoken; and in *its* worship it was to take the place of the *many* sacrifices which had been offered heretofore in the Jewish Church to show forth His Death. As the due celebration of this august and indispensable service was a matter of supreme importance in every view, doctrinally, as well as in point of order, and as its celebration was to begin *at once*, long before any book of the New Testament was written, a *Ritual* was needed to carry out our LORD’s directions. It was the last thing that could be left to the uncertainty of individual or extemporaneous effusions. If the old Sacrificial System needed a Ritual, no less did *this* glorious ministration. The Ritual of the *old* Sacrificial System, so minutely prescribed at Sinai, contained principles which were still applicable to this new service, by which His Church was henceforth to have access to GOD. Our LORD was with His Apostles for forty days after His Resurrection, “speaking to them of the things concerning the Kingdom of GOD,” that is, the Church. And, from the importance of this subject, we may conclude that the due ordering of that service upon a Ritual based upon the principles of the *old* Sacrificial System (“the pattern seen in the Mount” being also “the pattern of things in the Heavens”), must have been *one* of those things “concerning the Kingdom,” of which He spake to the Apostles during the great forty days.

The Apostles remained in Jerusalem, after the descent of the HOLY GHOST upon them, for ten or fifteen years. And we are certain that *S. James* was the first Bishop of Jerusalem. We know that the Holy Eucharist was celebrated from Pentecost on every LORD’S Day, and probably daily. *The Apostolic College must have used during that time,*

therefore, that Liturgic Service which had its common authority. That Liturgy used at Jerusalem, before the Apostles separated, finally, for their work among the nations, may be considered as the *norm* of the Liturgies.

It is significant that, as there were Four Rivers going out of Paradise, and as there are *Four Gospels* which carry the Waters of Life to the four quarters of the earth, so there are *Four Liturgies* which have come down from earliest times, and which must be regarded as the sources of all other Liturgies.* They have always borne, respectively, the names of S. James, S. Mark, S. John and S. Peter, to whose authority their composition is attributed. These productions are so similar in their form and substance that, it would seem, they must have a common beginning; and yet are so *unlike* in their *expressions* as to indicate independent origin. Of these four, the Liturgy of *S. James* (sometimes called, after his See, the Liturgy of Jerusalem, or the Oriental Liturgy), may well be considered the *first* and *oldest*. The learned Blunt says, "it can be traced back for nearly a thousand years in an existing manuscript, and by satisfactory evidence of another kind, through the intervening ages to a date only a century removed from the Apostolic age itself." In manuscript antiquity it is not inferior to the New Testament itself. It bears some interesting internal evidences of its Apostolic origin in Jerusalem: as, *e. g.*, where, in giving the words of the Institution of the Eucharist, it says our LORD "delivered them unto us (ἡμῖν) His disciples and Apostles;" and in "the graphic description of the descent of the HOLY GHOST," "as if written by one or more who were present on these occasions;" and the allusion made in the Great Intercession to "the holy places glorified by the manifestation of Thy CHRIST;" and the

* The Clementine Liturgy, found in the Apostolic Constitutions, is unquestionably ancient; and is of value as an exemplar of the primitive mode of celebrating the Eucharist, and interesting as a specimen of Liturgic literature; but, as it was never in *actual use*, it is not reckoned among the originals of the Eucharistic offices.

special mention in the same of "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, *our* holy fathers."*

To *this* Liturgy, as well as to the other three, *additions* were made by authority in later years, which, however, as we have said, are easily recognized by the times when usages, customs, or heresies to which they refer, are known to have arisen; as, *e. g.*, the calling of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Theotokos*, was an addition made after the Council of Chalcedon (451), which gave her this title. But the very early origin of its main portions is conclusively established from its traditional use in Palestine, "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary;" its agreement with Justin Martyr's celebrated account of Christian worship in Syria, given A. D. 150; and from the catechetical lectures of S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, A. D. 330, which describe it. We may safely conclude that at a period so near to the times of the persecutions and the assembling of the Nicene Council, no serious, certainly no corrupt, interpolations could have crept into a service so widely and constantly used, so often referred to, and so much revered.

Taking this Liturgy of S. James, which comes to us from Jerusalem, the fountain head of Christianity, as the *Original* Liturgy, it is entitled to the highest authority as a pattern of that true worship which is according to the mind of CHRIST. As such it will be interesting to examine its parts, its structure, and its language.

Before doing so, however, let us briefly refer to the other three principal Liturgies. That which bears the name of *S. Mark* originated at Alexandria, one of the chief centres of early Christianity, of which See this Evangelist was the first Bishop, and to which, as such Bishop, he must have given the form for administering the Holy Eucharist. It was used in the provinces of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

The Liturgy of *S. John* originated at Ephesus, that Apostle's own great See, and was used in the provinces of Asia

* There is an interesting tradition of the Church of Jerusalem, that, on the third day after the descent of the HOLY GHOST, S. James celebrated according to this same Liturgy which bears his name; and that he declared he had received it of the Lord.

Minor. Rearranged by S. Basil the Great, and also by S. Chrysostom, it is still the Liturgy of the entire Greek and Russian Church.

The Liturgy of *S. Peter* was used in Roman provinces and in Western Africa.

These four, the same in substance and form, though not in language and arrangement, are recognized to be of Apostolic institution, and every subsequent and minor Liturgy may be referred to one of them as its norm.

Let us now look at the structure of this Liturgy of *S. James*, the most ancient of the original four.

It has *two* chief divisions, the *Pro-Anaphora* and the *Anaphora*. The *Pro-Anaphora* extends to the *Sursum Corda*; the *Anaphora* is the remainder of the office.

The *Pro-Anaphora* is divided into two parts: (1) the service for the *Catechumens*; (2) the service for the *Faithful*.

The *Anaphora* is the Canon proper, consisting of the *great Eucharistic Prayer*—the Institution, the Oblation, the Invocation, the Great Intercession, and the Communion.

The *Pro-Anaphora* (or *Ante-Communion*, if we may apply a modern word) begins with the priest's prayer, in the prothesis or sacristy, for himself. The *Introit* follows, called "the Little Entrance," or the bringing in of the Gospel, "a ceremony of considerable pomp." The Hymn of the Trisagion is sung; lessons from the Old and New Testaments follow; a bidding prayer or general supplication is said; the *Catechumens* are dismissed, and none but the faithful are allowed to remain.

"*The Great Entrance*," that is, "the carrying of the elements from the Prothesis to the Altar," a most imposing ceremony, "follows." The Creed is said; the kiss of peace given; a kind of Universal Litany, or prayer for all, is said. The priest again prays at length for himself, that he and his fellow servants may be worthy and accepted.

The *Anaphora* begins next, with the *Sursum Corda* and responses, as in every liturgic office. The *Sanctus* (with a longer preface than ours) is sung:

Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD of Sabbaoth:
 Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory.
 Hosanna in the highest: Blessed is He
 That cometh in the name of the Lord:
 Hosanna in the highest."

The *Commemoration of INSTITUTION* is then made, in which we read that our LORD,

Taking bread * * * and looking up to Heaven, and shewing it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks, and hallowed and brake, and gave to us, *His Apostles* and disciples, saying, etc., the "us" implying "the authorship of one who was present.

THE OBLATION comes next, in which the priest says, "We offer to Thee this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice," etc.

THE INVOCATION follows immediately, in which the priest prays:

Have mercy on us, O God, and send upon us and upon these proposed gifts Thy most HOLY GHOST, that, coming upon them with His Holy, Good and Glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread *the Holy Body of Thy Christ*, and this cup *the Precious Blood of Thy Christ*.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION, or the PLEADING of the sacrifice for the living and the faithful departed, is made at length. That which in our Canon is thus briefly but comprehensively expressed, "that we and *all Thy whole Church* may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion."

A prayer of humble access for the priest and the people is said, and then the priest, elevating the Holy Gifts, says:

Holy Things for Holy Persons.

The people answer:

One Holy, One LORD, JESUS CHRIST, in the glory of GOD the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever.

The priest then makes "the union of the most holy Body and precious Blood of our LORD and GOD, and Saviour JESUS CHRIST," saying these and other words.

While he breaks, the priest repeats certain psalms;—and communicates.

Then being ready to communicate the people, the priest says:

Blessed be the name of the LORD our GOD forever.

The Deacon:

With the fear of God, and faith, and love, draw near.

The people:

Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord. The priest then administers, in both kinds, to the people, saying to each, *The Holy Body*; and giving the chalice, "*The precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour—*"

With a brief prayer of thanks to CHRIST, "that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood, for the remission of Sins and Eternal Life;" and to be kept without condemnation, etc., the faithful are dismissed.

The substantial agreement of these four Liturgies is remarkable. They all preserve the essential words, "*This is My Body; This is My Blood.*" The "Great Intercession" precedes the Consecration in S. Mark's Liturgy; and there is no *Invocation* in S. Peter's Liturgy.

It will be noted that the language of the *Invocation* in three of these liturgies seems to attribute the *Consecration* of the elements to the descent of the HOLY GHOST upon them; "that He may hallow and make this bread the Body of Thy CHRIST, and this Cup the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST." The Eastern Church has long maintained this teaching. The Western Church, having no *Invocation*, asserts that the Consecration is effected by CHRIST's words, repeated by the priest; those words having power, as Chrysostom somewhere says, to renew that wonder in all ages of the world. It is asserted by learned liturgists, I know not on what evidence, that the Roman Liturgy once contained the *Invocation*. When or how it was lost is not explained. That Liturgy is still in use in the Roman obedience. It seems incredible that a distinctive part of the Service (and especially one deemed necessary to a valid consecration, or to its completeness, even), could have been dropped, in the face of Christendom, either before or after the Nicene age, without notice, or a remonstrance at such a presumptuous mutilation of the essential Service of the Church.

Blunt says:

It is difficult to explain the apparent difference between the teachings of the Eastern and Western Church on such an important matter. The most

plausible solution is, that the prayer for the descent of the HOLY GHOST looks to the gracious Presence to prepare the communicants to receive the Sacrament.

To the same effect was the answer of the Orthodox Greeks at the Council of Florence, who, admitting that the Consecration was effected by the Words of Institution, explained the prayer of Invocation to ask "that what had been already consecrated by those Words, might be for the Salvation of those that receive." The Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark do *include the communicants* in the gracious purpose for which the Spirit shall descend; but they also add to make the elements the Body and Blood of CHRIST. So our own Liturgy says:

To bless and sanctify with Thy Word and HOLY SPIRIT these Thy Gifts of bread and wine; *that we receiving them, etc.*, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.

May we suppose that, as the HOLY SPIRIT descended upon our LORD to consecrate Him fully to become to us our Prophet, Priest and King, so He descends on these Holy Gifts, that *in us* the SPIRIT which quickeneth (John vi., 63) may make the Body and Blood of CHRIST to be the effectual power of Resurrection to Eternal Life?

It has been suggested that the Illapse of the SPIRIT upon the elements, for which the Invocation prays, is "a fulfilment or Heavenly counterpart of the Descent of Fire on the typical Sacrifices of old, for thus the Sacrifice is enfolded within the Heavenly Sphere." "A true idea of Sacrifice," Mr. Hunter tells us, "involves three distinct actions, following in their natural and necessary order: (1) The preparation of the Victim; (2) The Offering; (3) God's *Answer by Fire*. All these essential parts are found in the early Liturgies, viz.: (1) In the Consecration, the preparation of the Victim; (2) In the Oblation, the Offering; (3) In the *Invocation, God Answering by Fire*."

It would seem that the Consecration should come first before the Oblation. For the OBLATION of the HOLY GIFTS is a part of the Eucharistic Action scarcely less *essential* than the consecration of the elements. Our LORD said: * (Ποιεῖτε—*Do This; i. e., Offer This*. He offered Himself,

* Ποιεῖτε—Do This, is used *sacrificially* some seventy times, it is said, in the Septuagint.

first, "under the form of bread and wine," at the Institution. This is My Body, which *is* given, *διδόμενον*, which is *being* given. This is My Blood, which *is* shed, *ἐκχυνόμενον*, which is *being* shed; which are *now* given and shed; not which *shall be*.*) The present participle, which is the intense way of expressing time present, is used in all four accounts of the Institution, and in the Liturgies. To "Do This," as CHRIST did it, is, then, to OFFER His Body and Blood sacramentally; which is not *repeating*, but re-presenting His Sacrifice.

It is true that the HOLY GHOST, Who, by His operation effected the Incarnation in the beginning, is the Agent of Consecration; but we can suppose that He effects the change in the elements, when the words of CHRIST are duly spoken over them, although there be no Invocation. When CHRIST instituted the Sacrament, as the Evangelists and Liturgies scrupulously recite, "He took bread; He gave thanks (Eucharistized); He blest; He brake; and gave to them, saying, *This is My Body; this is My Blood; this Do for My Memorial.*" We are not told there was any Invocation of the Spirit then. The nucleus of the Christian Liturgy, in all times and forms, must be found in these words and actions of our LORD at the Institution. For a priest to do and say as *He* did and said, is to celebrate the Eucharist. The essential words, therefore, to make a valid Sacrament are these which our LORD used; and when they are duly pronounced, it would seem the elements become the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

The Anglican Church teaches, it is certain, that the Consecration is effected by the words and actions of the Institution, which she enjoins her priests to observe strictly; for she has *no Invocation* in her Liturgy.

We may well be inclined to accept this view; since we must otherwise suppose the whole Western Church (having no Invocation) for twelve centuries, was without a valid Eucharist; and that the English Church, in all its branches, is still in that unfortunate condition.

The difficulty under consideration is obviated in that

* So in S. James's Liturgy it is translated, "in the night He was offered, yea, offered Himself."

most perfect Liturgy of the Reformation, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., which places the Invocation immediately *before the Words of Institution*; and so harmonizes East and West.

The Liturgies being so ancient and Apostolic in origin, and in such constant and universal use, must be ranked among the *monuments* and *muniments* of Christianity.

One of the infallible marks of certainty for any fact is, that an outward observance be begun at the time, and continued uninterruptedly in memory thereof. Infidelity has not been able to break the famous argument of "Law's Short and Easy Methods with the Deists." The *Passover*, begun and continuously celebrated from the departure of Israel out of Egypt as related by Moses, was one of the "infallible proofs" of the reality of the event itself. In the Christian system, the Eucharist takes the place of the Passover in the old dispensation, and is a perpetual witness to the fact of the death and resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, and a constant *prophecy* of His second advent. The solemn Eucharistic action which CHRIST ordained for His Memorial forever, begun at the time *when* and on the spot *where* these great events occurred, has been celebrated weekly, on His resurrection day, ever since the first Easter; and its observance has extended, and is extending, from nation to nation, until we realize that Malachi's prophecy must soon come true, that "from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same,—and in every place, the PURE OFFERING shall be made in His name."

Now, the Liturgies show that this Divine memorial was not left to extemporaneous uncertainty and individual vagaries, but was celebrated with the utmost care and veneration and agreement; the Church thus witnessing to the *certainty* of those things which are most surely believed amongst us.

Thus rightly and *liturgically* celebrated, the Holy Eucharist announces *what the faith is*, and *preserves it*.

The Eucharist was celebrated weekly or daily for one generation, perhaps for two, before any Gospel was written; and for two or three centuries before the Church declared her Canon of Holy Writ. In that time the Euchar-

istic Liturgies, by their continual and impressive celebrations, must have been a great, if not the principal, *teaching* agency in the Church. As the Passover, in the Mosaic economy, was a standing witness, so the Eucharist has always been, and is now, *evidential* in the highest degree; and so also the service, with which it is celebrated, is an immovable testimony to the Truth.

Mark how manifold is its witness. It includes all the articles of the Creed, and makes an *application* of them in the most affecting way to every believing soul. The mystery of CHRIST's Incarnation, His atoning Passion and Sacrifice, His mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension, His Mediatorship and intercession, and His second coming, with all their practical consequences, are announced—the divinity of CHRIST, the unity and tri-unity of GOD are declared, every time the Eucharist is duly celebrated. If the Creeds were lost, and the New Testament besides, everything we need to know or to do for our salvation could be gathered from the due celebration of the Sacraments.

What a monument of the Faith CHRIST provided when He appointed not only that the Gospel should be preached, and recorded in a *Book*, but that it should be *represented* and acted out, so to say; *announced* to the *eye* and to the *ear* together, to the end of the world, as a perpetual testimony that the CHRIST, the Incarnate SON of GOD, has come into the world, atoned for our sins, is our Mediator at GOD's right hand, and, as He said, will come again. Do we sufficiently value this irrefutable evidence in our teaching; and do we sufficiently value the immense importance of the unceasing and *frequent* showing forth—(“*καταγγέλλετε*, ye *announce*”)—before the world of the Death of CHRIST? Do we not overrate our *preaching*, in comparison of this announcement? Let the Eucharist tell its story from our Altars, on every LORD's day, and, if it may be, daily; and let us point out to men its deep significance.

The Liturgies are of the utmost value to the Faith. They and the Scriptures should go together; and when they shall do so, many of our differences will be settled. Let us note some of the things which may be surely collected from the Liturgies: not from them alone, but from them as *interpre-*

ters of the Scriptures, and as co-witnesses with the Fathers of the first four centuries.

1. The Liturgies teach the indispensable *necessity*, and the *true object* of PUBLIC WORSHIP; of our assembling together—that it is not merely, as many imagine, to *get* something, to hear preaching; but to *give* something; and chiefly, to give the LORD the glory due unto His name; to *announce* to the world, visibly; to *plead* before GOD for ourselves, the whole Church, and for the world; and to *apply* to ourselves, individually and collectively, the tremendous Sacrifice of the Eternal SON of GOD. Though CHRIST has, indeed, “tasted death for every man,” yet each one must come to GOD in the appointed way, to secure and appropriate the benefits of that sacrifice to himself; he must come individually, and also as a part of the Corporate Body of CHRIST. Ever since the Fall, it has been necessary for man, being a sinner and alienated from GOD, to come to Him in a definite way: that is, he must come in the faith of the Redeemer, *showing forth and pleading His Great Sacrifice*. Before CHRIST came, men had access to GOD only by the appointed bloody sacrifices: *now* we have access by an unbloody sacrifice, appointed to take their place, in which we show forth and plead the Death of CHRIST.

In the Divine order, CHRIST, our High Priest, must yet *present* His Sacrifice continually at the Heavenly Altar, and *plead* it for us, and *apply* it to us; and we, His people who would have the benefit of *His Mediation*, must *join with Him* in perpetually presenting that Sacrifice before GOD, a continuous memorial. Every one who calls himself a Christian should *take part* in that corporate action of the Church on earth, by which she, in union with her Divine Head, re-presents and pleads, and (by communion) applies to each one the Sacrifice of Christ. And *therein* also is the right way to *offer praise and thanks* to GOD; we Eucharistize Him in and by showing forth the love and glory of GOD in this supreme manifestation of it.

These Liturgies of the early Church show that *the object* of every Christian assembling together was “to break bread;” to celebrate that One Service which CHRIST commanded; in what way they had access to GOD—namely, by

re-presenting, pleading and applying CHRIST's Sacrifice, and *therewith* giving GOD praise and thanksgiving. How *such* an object dwarfs that idea of going to Church which is expressed, "to hear the minister preach!" In this Mystery, and not by the prophetic function, we are able to draw near to GOD, and to unite ourselves to the Mediatorial Intercessions of our great High Priest in the Heavens; and we *are* united to CHRIST, so that "He dwelleth in us and we in Him." The man of to-day who "forsakes the assembling together" because he is tired of preaching, and can as well read his Bible and a sermon and pray *at home*, cannot give such an excuse, if he is well instructed in *this* necessity and object of public worship.

2. The Primitive Liturgies are the evidence of the faith of the early Church in the *Real Presence* of Christ in the Sacrament.

The words of Institution, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, of themselves teach it, of course. CHRIST must be present where His Body and Blood are present. And these words the Liturgies most scrupulously *retain* and repeat in every Eucharist; and after the utterance of each formula the people responded, *Amen*; and the deacon answered, "*We believe and confess.*" At the mixture of the Holy Gifts, the priest said, "The union of the most holy *Body* and precious *Blood* of our LORD and GOD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. After the Consecration, just before the Communion, as we have before noticed, the priest exclaimed, elevating the Gifts, "*Holy Things for holy persons!*" and the people answered, "*One Holy, One LORD JESUS CHRIST, in the glory of GOD the Father, to Whom be glory for ever and ever.*" At the *administration*, as the priest took up the Sacrament, the deacon said, "With the fear of GOD, and faith, and love, draw near;" and the people answered, "*Blessed be He that cometh in the Name of the LORD.*" To each, as he gave the Sacrament, the priest said, "*The Body of CHRIST; The Blood of CHRIST.*"

In all this there is no refinement; no attempted explanation of the Mystery, by transubstantiation, or by a figurative Presence; but we have the simple, plain truth of CHRIST's own words reverently retained.

3. The Primitive Liturgies teach that the Holy Eucharist is a SACRIFICE.

Indeed, it is so generally called by this title that it would be too much to quote all the passages. In his prayer for acceptance the priest commemorates the Divine mercy and goodness which has counted him worthy "to stand, O LORD, before Thy holy Altar, and to offer to Thee the fearful and unbloody SACRIFICE for our sins and for the ignorances of the people;" "turn not back us sinners that *take hold of Thee* in the fearful and *unbloody Sacrifice*." "Grant us, O LORD, with all fear and with a good conscience, to set before Thee this spiritual and unbloody *Sacrifice*."

Again, at the Prayer of the Veil, when the Holy Mysteries are exposed to view, the priest says:

We render thanks to Thee, LORD our GOD, for that Thou hast given us boldness to the entrance in of Thy Holy Places, the new and living way which Thou hast consecrated for us through the Veil of the Flesh of Thy Christ. We, therefore, to whom it hath been vouchsafed to enter into the place of the Tabernacle of Thy Glory, and to be within the Veil, and to behold the holy of holies, fall down before Thy goodness. Master, have mercy upon us; since we are full of fear and dread when about to stand before Thy holy Altar, and to offer *this fearful and unbloody Sacrifice for our sins and for the ignorance of the people*. Send forth, O God, Thy good grace, and hallow our souls and bodies and spirits, and change our disposition to piety, that in a pure conscience, we may present to Thee the mercy of peace, the Sacrifice of praise.

And finally, in the Oblation, immediately after the words of Institution, where we expect to find distinct statement:

WE OFFER to Thee, O LORD, *this tremendous and unbloody SACRIFICE*; beseeching Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, etc. For Thy people and Thy Church supplicate Thee."

We may add that the Greek words for *Sacrifice*, *θυσία*; for *Altar*, *θυσιαστήριον*;^{*} and for Priest † *ιερεύς*, are used throughout; and the Service itself is called the "hierurgy."

^{*}"For more than 300 years after the Institution of the Sacrament, the *Altar* is but once called a *Table*, in the genuine remains of Christian writers."—Smith's Dict. Christ. Antiq.

† If the Eucharist is a *Sacrifice*, it requires an *Altar*, on which to offer it; and a *Priest* to offer it thereon. It matters not by what name, (*πρεσβύτερος* or *ιερεύς*) Christian ministers are called. Their *work* determines their character. A priest is one who is appointed to offer gifts and sacri-

There is not the least reason for supposing there have been any changes in the Liturgies *in this regard*, since the same words, or their *Latin* equivalents, are generally used by Ante-Nicene writers, as Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and others.

4. The Primitive Liturgies include *Prayers for the faithful departed*. There is not an ancient Liturgy to be found in which such a commemoration is omitted. They appear in great variety of phraseology, and with a tenderness and beauty of expression which show how deeply such memorials of the sainted dead appealed to the pious and devout. We give one or two quotations out of many that might be adduced:

Remember, LORD, the GOD of the spirits and all flesh, the orthodox whom we have commemorated, from righteous Abel even unto this day. *Give them Rest there*, in the land of the living, in Thy Kingdom, in the delight of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers, whence sorrow, grief and lamentation are banished away.

The above is found in S. James's Liturgy, in the Prayer of the *Great Intercession*, after the Oblation, when the Sacrifice is *pleaded*.

The following from S. Mark's Liturgy is very beautiful, and contains the verse which S. Paul is thought to have quoted in 1 Cor. ix. 2:

Give Rest to the souls of our fathers and brethren that have heretofore slept in the faith of CHRIST. O LORD, our GOD, remember our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, holy and just persons, every spirit that has departed in the faith of CHRIST, and those to-day whom we keep in memory. And to the spirits of all these give Rest in the Tabernacles of thy Saints, vouchsafing to them in Thy Kingdom the good things of Thy promise which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man the things which Thou hast prepared, O God, for them that love Thy holy Name.

fices.—Heb. . . . S. Paul says that with the introduction of the New Covenant, the Priesthood was (not abolished, but) "*changed*." (Heb. vii. 12); *i. e.*, from the Aaronic to the Apostolic. The name anciently applied to the priesthood implied *dignity*. The Hebrew (Cohen) signifies *prince* as well as *priest*. The term *Elder*, like our Senator, signified *dignity*. "*Elders*" were *princes*. (Num. 22:4 with 31:8.) The priesthood belonged, at first, to the eldest son by right; but when that office was transferred from a lineal succession to the Apostolic one of ordination, the title "*Elder*" went with it, and is found in the early writings of Christianity along with the title *priest*,

There is not the slightest evidence for thinking that prayers for the faithful departed are an addition or interpolation in these Liturgies. They were common in Jewish devotions in our LORD's time; early Christian writers speak of them with approval as customary among the faithful. If they had ever been regarded as unauthorized, they could not have crept into general use so early, without remonstrance. The inference is, they must have had Apostolic authority.

5. The Primitive Liturgies prove with what reverence and ceremonial the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. The profound humility and veneration with which It was approached, as we see by the prayer of humble access and the priest's prayer of preparation and for acceptance, are exceedingly impressive. Indeed it is much to be wished that some of these last devotions had enriched our own liturgy, where-with the hearts of ourselves might be solemnized as we approach this glorious and awful ministration. Their veneration is seen in the names with which the Sacrament is mentioned: "the tremendous Mysteries;" "this our holy, bloodless, and acceptable Sacrifice;" "these holy, Divine and spotless Mysteries." The expressions of their adoration reached a majesty, intensity, fullness, and exaltation which we can hardly describe.

6. The Primitive Liturgies are of special value in our *controversies*. As against *sectarians* they are evidence of the *Apostolic origin* of liturgical worship; of the three orders of the ministry; of sacramental grace; of the doctrine of the Eucharist; of the ceremonial of the Altar; and of many incidental matters on which they are not at one with the early Church and with us.

And they are quite as valuable in our contention with *Rome*. The Liturgies are evidence that there was no recognition of the Bishop of Rome as the Supreme and Infallible Pope of the Catholic Church. He is not specially referred to in any one of them, except in the Roman, where he, as Bishop and Patriarch, would, of course, find mention. Supposing that the present pretensions of the Pope of Rome *were* then recognized, that Rome was "the Mother and Mistress of all Churches," and the Bishop

of Rome was the Vicar of CHRIST, Supreme Pontiff, Visible Head and Ruler, Infallible Judge, the Fountain of all orders and mission and jurisdiction in the Church of God: supposing all these things were then recognized, we say, the absence of any mention of *him*, and of the See of Rome in these Liturgies is simply unaccountable. That in them the emperor, "the reigning city," etc., should be remembered specially, without any mention of the one who, under the Roman theory, is the most important personage on earth, is quite inexplicable. In *S. Mark's* Liturgy we read:

Remember, O LORD, *the Holy City of Christ* our God, and *the reigning city*, and this our city, and every city, and those that dwell in it in the orthodox faith of CHRIST, their peace and safety.

Note here that *Jerusalem* is called, what Rome now affects to be, "the Holy City," and is put *first*, before "the reigning city" (Rome), the imperial seat. And there is no reference to the Bishop of Rome, as there naturally would be (on the Papal theory), in connection with the mention of the Imperial City.

So in *S. James's* Liturgy, in the Oblation, we read:

We offer (these Holy Gifts) to Thee, O Lord, for the holy places which Thou hast glorified by the Divine Manifestation of Thy CHRIST, and by the advent of thy all HOLY SPIRIT; especially for the glorious *Zion, THE MOTHER OF ALL CHURCHES*; and for Thy Holy Catholic Church throughout the world."

The whole Church remembered, the Church of Jerusalem, particularly, as "*the Mother of all Churches*," and no special mention of Rome at all, nor of its Pope! Think what an argument Rome would make of it, if any ancient liturgy had called *her* Church, what she affects to be, "the Mother of all Churches."

So the Liturgies bear incidental and powerful testimony to the teaching of the Eastern Church, and to our own position, that the Pope of Rome is not the Supreme and Infallible Ruler and Judge of the Catholic Church; which is indeed the pivotal question in the Roman controversy.

While the Primitive Liturgies have such uniform suffrages for the faithful departed, asking for them rest, light, refreshment, perfection, etc., there is no allusion to

"the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, etc;" and we could have no more effectual refutation of Rome's teaching in this regard, than to restore to our own Canon, in its proper place, the precise mention of the faithful dead which was in the Primitive Liturgies from the beginning.

Comparing the substance and the order of these ancient Liturgies with our own Eucharistic office, we find that there is a substantial agreement. In essentials ours is the same. In fact there is the same sequence in our Office as in that of S. James, the Liturgy of Jerusalem, the Mother of Churches, the Foundation Head of Christianity. The simple and severe majesty of our Service suits our Anglo-Saxon character, perhaps; but we might be well pleased, too, if we had more of the splendor and beauty of the others to enrich our own. At any rate, we have cause to thank God at every Eucharist that He has given us an Office so majestic and so beautiful, and in such accord with the first Liturgy of the Christian Church.

N. BARROWS.

RECENT LITERATURE.

Political Economy. By ARTHUR LAPHAM PERRY, LL. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This work has received wide and favorable notice from the press. In some important respects it is of larger range and more fully meets vital and practical questions than any similar book of American origin. As a matter of necessity much of the staple of thought, on the usual topics included under the head of Political Economy, is not new or original, yet it is presented frequently with fresh illustrations and in new relations. The author shows complete mastery of the subject, and the first chapter of the book, giving a history of the science, is proof that his study has been earnest and broad.

He certainly has somewhat clarified the subject and has given more point and incisiveness to his own treatment by

dropping some of the old nomenclature, and by a precise definition of terms employed by himself. He has eschewed the vague and shifting term "wealth," and has substituted "value" as the true subject of the science. This enlarges his field and gives more philosophic completeness to his investigation.

A book like this is not susceptible of analysis within the compass of a review notice, we must therefore content ourselves with a simple expression of our admiration of its character. We regard it as a compendious and satisfactory presentation of the subject. From our own standpoint we might feel disposed to question some of his views, and to moot some of his logic in his treatment of tariff. But it is not our province, neither is this the place to controvert opinions. The Professor is consistent with himself and, like the majority of collegiate teachers on this subject, is a theoretical free-trader. Were he engaged in practical business relations he might possibly look through another sort of lens. But, this aside, his book is able and will doubtless take rank with the best, either foreign or domestic, on the subject.

Kadesh-Barnea. Its importance and probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt for it. By H. CLAY TRUMBLL, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

All students of the Bible will be interested in this thrilling and scholarly book. But it will be of more significant value to two classes, viz: 1st. To those who, by reason of religious associations, attach great importance to the positive identification of sites made memorable in the history of God's ancient people, and in the life of Christ. 2d. To those who find in the certain settlement of such localities an evidential value in establishing the veracity of the Bible record, and a weapon of defense against the foes of religion.

The Site of Kadesh-Barnea had, until the publication of this book, been a disputed point among the explorers and geographers of Palestine. All that curiosity and antiquarian zeal had hitherto achieved was to propose that there seemed a probable settlement of the question, but no certainty was claimed or established. Dr. Edward Robinson, after long and intelligent research, fixed upon Ayin el Way-

beh as the veritable Kadesh, and Dean Stanley, with his versatility and fund of historical and geographical knowledge, could only see in Petra the complete identification.

The honor of the present solution must, in justice, be divided between Dr. Trumbull and the Rev. John Rowland. The latter, an English clergyman, about forty years ago, entering the desert from the north, discovered at the base of a cliff a stream of water called Ayn Quadees, the equivalent in Arabic of the Hebrew Kadesh. After some delay Mr. Rowland announced his discovery, but in the light of Dr. Robinson as authority, he was considered a dreamer, and his suggestions summarily dismissed. When Dr. Trumbull was at Nakhl, in the desert North of Sinai, he conceived the design of following the land marks laid down by Mr. Rowland and endeavoring to identify the cliff and stream called Ayn Quadees. The description of this exploring divergence is what constitutes the *hunt*, and the final success is the culminating point and value of the entire book. The major part of the volume is devoted to exploding opposing theories and in preparing the way for the indisputable proof that Mr. Rowland alone was right. We think that Dr. Trumbull, by his learning and research, has done a noble work, and has thereby established imperishable honor for Mr. Rowland himself.

The book itself comports with the grand solution it records. It is a specially handsome octavo, of between four and five hundred pages, and well equipped with indexes, authorities and maps, so as to give facility and comfort to the reader. American scholarship is well illustrated by such work, and Dr. Robinson is confirmed and supplemented by such careful and fruitful researches.

The Agnostic. Poems by HENRY NILES PIERCE, D. D., LL.D., Bishop of Arkansas. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

It is not always advisable to clothe a metaphysical or philosophical argument in poetic form. The metaphysics generally will not make very attractive poetry; and the poetry—if there is any—is quite apt to play the mischief with the metaphysics. But in the *Agnostic* Bishop Pierce has attempted this very difficult task, and has done it in

such a way that the poetry and the argument rather help one another, than hinder. He begins with a *Prelude*, the connection of which with the poem that follows is not very perceptible at first sight, but on further thought is seen to be very deep and beautiful. *The Desolate Homestead* tells of the character and life of its former inhabitants. The ruins of the mighty cities—Babylon, Ninevah, Troy, Memphis, Thebes, Palenque and Copan—tell

“Where eager, hopeful men
And tender women lived, and toiled, and loved,
Rejoiced and mourned; felt envy, hate, remorse,
And jealousy, with all the thrills and pangs
Which torture or enrapture human hearts;
And gladly then, or sadly, laid them down
And died, and turned to dust, and were forgot.”

This desolation, giving proof of the *reality* of the previous condition of flourishing life, prepares the mind for the Poem of *The Agnostic* itself. This is wrought out with a great deal of strong and striking poetic imagery. It is narrated as a real experience of the Poet, who, having first experienced an exalted rapture of sensuous enjoyment in the beauty of Nature, suddenly finds that the sense of *smell* has forsaken him. Soon after *taste* is gone also. Then follows *hearing*, then *sight*, and last of all even *touch* disappears:

“And with it disappear the latest trace
Of matter under forms perceptible
To smell or taste; to hearing, sight or touch
That things corporal existed still,
I classed among the possibilities
Which I could not affirm, nor yet deny,
Since I had cognizance of naught beyond
My inner self. I say my inner self:
My outer shell, my gross material part,
Had vanished with the vanished things of sense.
The world had perished, leaving me alone,
An isolated thought in boundless space!”

And yet the “thought” presupposes the thinker [the old *cogito, ergo sum*, of Des Cartes], and he adds:

“Whatever vain illusions mock the mind,
The thinking *ego* steadfastly persists.
I am, is certainly the first of truths.
This fact I know, whatever else I doubt.
And, doubting that, I doubt, and surely am;
For, were I not, I could not even doubt.”

On this foundation he proceeds to reconstruct the world which had disappeared, through consciousness, will, and force, as the evidence of other minds than his own, until he reaches the conclusion that

"The cosmic forces are of might divine,
And matter God's volition crystallized.
Dynamic, static, still one energy
Sustains or moves,—THE GREAT CREATIVE WILL."

Partial or broken rays of the same philosophic thoughts are found glancing through several of the sonnets and other poems in the book; though there are also many poems of more general character, breathing of personal sorrow, tender thought, classic legend, graceful and pleasing sentiment, and one piece of strangely lurid and weird descriptive power—*A Dream of Phantoms*.

The Creation: A recent work of God.—By the author of "Life of CHRIST," "The Bible a Scientific Revelation," etc., etc. New York: James Pott.

The heroism of this author is worthy of mention. He writes with a knowledge of the scientific ban under which he is resting, and very calmly prophesies the reception that will be given to his "labor of love." To our mind he cannot be dismissed by simply tabooing him as a hobby rider, neither can he be answered by charging upon him ignorance. He possesses all the calm and judicial qualities of mind that equip the reasoner, and the versatile knowledge that indicates the scholar.

We saw much that was excellent in his book, "The Bible a Scientific Revelation," and accepted some of his views in opposition to pseudo recognized science. Now, again, modern science may laugh at the theorem here presented, and stigmatize it as timid and conservative, but we regard it as an able resumé showing "the harmony between God's created and written revelations," "both comparatively recent" and "within the last six thousand years." In a detached preface, accompanying the volume, he says:

The theory is based on the Bible narrative, and confirmed by facts furnished by the ablest scientists in Europe and America, though they furnish them to prove the earth's great antiquity, which the writer believed for many years, until accumulating facts compelled him to relinquish that theory, and adopt one in favor of the recentness of creation.

There is not a geological stratum or a fossil remain, an ocean current, a deposit of drift or diluvium, a mountain chain, or ray of light which cannot be harmonized with this theory.

The striking excellence of this book is, that it affords no nook or corner in which infidelity, disguised as science, can entrench itself, and from thence make forays upon the Bible and the God of the Bible. It is devout in every line, and recognizes in all creation a personal first cause in contradistinction to self-originating evolution and impersonal law. We congratulate the author on his work and counsel him to "take heart" of hope and truth.

Arius the Libyan, An Idyl of the Primitive Church. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

It is somewhat startling to the student of history to hear the name of Arius associated with anything idyllic, hence the special need of examination into the real character and purpose of this work. It is divided into two books. The first may very fairly claim the title given to the whole work.

It is indeed a beautiful picture of Christian home life, pastoral in character and charming in its simplicity, written in a bright, entertaining way, and however much the imagination may have been called into requisition as to the early life of Arius, the writer manifests ability of a high order and shows a master hand in dealing with the idyllic. But in the second book the whole character of the work changes. Facts of history are dealt with, and the motives of men are interpreted. The special talent of the writer fails here, and crudeness of thought and misrepresentation of the facts of history are clearly manifest, although it is here that the purpose of the work is made apparent.

The writer evidently had a purpose beyond a mere idyl, for certain principles concerning the teaching of our LORD are constantly repeated in the first book, which develop and culminate in the second, in a way that amazes anyone at all acquainted with the teaching of our LORD and the early history of Christianity.

Arius, and the questions of the Trinity and the Council of Nicea, seem rather to be used as circumstantial conditions, and secondary to the real object of the work.

Its effect is strongly in the interest of communism.

It is asserted that JESUS CHRIST taught the denial of the right of private property and the antagonism of the Kingdom of Heaven to civil government. Eusebius is made to say that for three hundred years a Christian man had not owned a slave. Arius is charged with teaching zealously these principles, with the additional one that a Christian cannot be an Emperor or bear arms in war. Constantine is made to declare: "The system of Arius, primitive Christianity, would leave no room for Constantine on earth; there can be no rivalry between the Christianity of Hosius and the sovereigns of the world. I am therefore the champion of the Holy Trinity, and at the right time Arius must be condemned." The writer clearly attempts to charge our LORD with the radical principles of communism, and the condemnation of Arius a political expediency. Now, without entering into that most vexed question of Constantine's character and motives, certain facts of history, and alleged teachings of our LORD, may be called in question. Our LORD did not teach a denial of the right of private property, or community of goods as the future law of the Church. The most notable example on this point is the case of the rich young man. "Go, sell all thou hast and give to the poor and come follow me." Here was clearly no law stated; merely a remedy suited to the moral condition of a particular individual. At most it was only counsel given. It is true that the first Christians had all things in common, but this was not because our LORD had taught that a Christian could not have private property.

S. Peter told Ananias he might have kept his land if he had chosen, and that he was not *obliged* to give in his money to the common fund.

S. Paul wrote to the Corinthians "let *every one* of you lay by," which could not and would not have been the case if Christians were denied the right of private property. The statement that "for three hundred years no Christian man hath owned a slave," is both amazing and unaccountable.

The Epistle to Philemon refers entirely to a runaway

slave who is *sent back* and not, too, with the injunction to set him free. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the masters are enjoined how to treat their servants. And many instances are recorded in the history of the early Christians, of the release of slaves on great events.

This is simple history, not the philosophy of history.

Again, CHRIST never taught that a Christian cannot bear arms in war. The right of self-defense is Divine, and Christianity gives the State the same right, which makes it the duty of a Christian to bear arms in defense of his country.

The refusal of Christians to enter the army arose out of the fact that, in taking the military oath, they were obliged to pay Divine offering to the Emperor. It was a question of sacrifice to false gods, and not the right to bear arms. The same fact excluded them from the civil service.

Antagonism between the Kingdom of Heaven and civil government our LORD flatly denied. When the Jews sought to force an issue on this very point, He distinctly told them: "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto GOD the things that be GOD's." The annunciation of this principle at such a time allayed forever the possibility of conflict. This statement surely leaves "room for Constantine on earth," and does not make human government "ridiculous or unnecessary."

Later on in the Epistles we find S. Paul and S. Peter writing to the various Christians, to respect human government, "for the powers that be are ordained of GOD." And this is the law of CHRIST and Christianity for all time.

The Life and Times of the Rev. John Skinner, M.A., of Linshart, Longside, Dean of Aberdeen, author of "Tullochgorum," etc. By the Rev. WILLIAM WALKER, M.A., Monymusk. London: Skeffington & Son.

We do not wonder that this work has already passed to a second edition. Our only wonder is that the work itself did not appear sooner, for the long and active life of its subject was intimately connected with events of more than usual importance. Its publication, however, is well timed, in view of the near approach of the centennial celebration of Bishop Seabury's consecration, in the accomplishment of

which Dean Skinner bore a leading part. Thus his biography has an especial interest for American Churchmen.

He was originally a Presbyterian, but was led to conform to the Church by the attractions of its beautiful liturgy. This was while he was yet a young man, and his next step was to obtain a tutorship, which he did in the family of Mr. Sinclair, of Scalloway in Shetland. It was while residing there, that he took to himself a wife, the daughter of the Rev. John Hunter, then the only Church clergyman in those islands. In 1742, Mr. Skinner was ordained deacon, and in the autumn of that year he was appointed to the charge of Longside, where he continued to reside and officiate for more than sixty years. He had been there but a short time when the final Jacobite insurrection occurred, from which he himself (though free from Jacobitical sympathies), was made to suffer grievously. At the instigation of a bigoted and influential lady in the neighborhood, his house was plundered and his church burned. The faith and firmness of both pastor and people remained unmoved, and services were still maintained by them, as by those of other parishes, in barns and private houses, despite the great inconvenience and intimidation to which they were subjected. On the plea of his having officiated to more than the statutory number of persons, the civil authorities were called upon by the same lady who had headed the first persecution to arrest him! He was accordingly cast into prison at Aberdeen, being accompanied thither by his son John, at that time a boy of eight years of age.

While in prison, Mr. Skinner applied himself diligently to study, especially renewing his acquaintance with Hebrew. In this connection, he embraced the Hutchinsonian system of Biblical interpretation, which seems to have influenced his whole after-life, and, through him, many of the other clergy in that part of Scotland.

Being released after six months' incarceration, he returned joyfully to his anxious and devoted flock and resumed his pastoral duties, which were relieved at times by literary work in different fields. One of his poems, "*Tullochgorum*," at once established his reputation as a song writer. Burns magnanimously styling it "the best Scotch song

ever Scotland saw." Another song, "The Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn," has also always been highly popular, ranking among his productions next to "Tullochgorum." His talents in this direction would easily have gained for him a still higher rank had he chosen to devote himself chiefly to such compositions. But his mind was almost wholly absorbed in pastoral work and theological studies. These latter continued mainly in the line of Biblical criticism, with an occasional digression into that of ecclesiastical controversy. His efforts in building up the Church, which at this period was so feeble and disheartened in Scotland, were most energetic, and contributed largely to its restoration to public respect and confidence.

When a coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen was required, his elder clerical brothers were anxious that he should permit himself to be put in nomination for that office, but he persistently declined, recommending them to elect his son John, who had been for a number of years in charge of S. Andrew's, Aberdeen, where he was greatly esteemed by the whole community. The son frequently bore testimony to the valuable help which he had received from his father in the discharge of his episcopal duties. It was almost immediately after his consecration, that Canon Berkeley (whose warm and unflinching interest in the American Church—inherited from his famous father, the Bishop of Cloyne—should always be gratefully remembered), initiated the correspondence with the Scotch Bishops which eventually led to Dr. Seabury's consecration. This important step was finally agreed upon by them, mainly through the arguments of Bishop Skinner, who throughout was greatly aided by the powerful counsel and influence of his father. From the beginning, at a time when the cause appeared likely to have but few friends, Mr. Skinner was its zealous advocate.

It is very pleasant to note how cordially the author of the volume under review writes of the American Church in referring to this transaction. "Not a few Scottish Churchmen," he says, "feel strongly that in the Seabury consecration, their Church was more blessed in giving than the American in receiving." Much interest is already man-

ifested in regard to the proposed celebration of the event in S. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen (where a beautiful East window in commemoration of it has been erected recently), on October 7th and 8th of this year, and it is to be hoped that the American Church may be adequately represented on that occasion.

Towards the close of his life, Mr. Skinner was made Dean of Aberdeen, and he was subsequently the recipient of another honour of a civil character, which must have been peculiarly gratifying to him. In the autumn of 1789, he along with his son—the Bishop, was presented with the freedom of the City of Old Aberdeen, the same city where he had once been so unrighteously imprisoned. Ten years later, he lost his devoted wife, who had been his helpmeet for more than half a century. He has embalmed her memory in a graceful Latin ode in which he recounts in tender and loving language her many graces and virtues. In the spring of 1807, his son—the Bishop, met with the same bereavement, and shortly afterwards he invited his venerable father to make his home with him at Aberdeen, which he at once gladly undertook to do. He seemed at the time to be in his usual health and spirits, but he survived the removal only a fortnight, dying on the 16th of June, in the 87th year of his age, literally falling asleep in the arms of his son. According to his own request, his remains were interred by the side of his wife's in the churchyard of Longside, the parishioners of which erected a monument at the head of the grave with a suitable inscription. Later on, the East window in the new and handsome church of S. John's was dedicated to his revered memory.

In closing this review of a very interesting volume—the work upon which has been admirably done by Mr. Walker—we cannot do better than quote the estimate of Dean Skinner's character and attainments as expressed by Bishop Gleig, who in his memoir of him (p. 197), says: "By the writer of these remarks, with whom of all his brethren, perhaps, he had the most earnest controversies, both in the theology and in human science, he has often been pronounced the brightest ornament of the Scotch Episcopal Church during the latter half of the 18th century,

and, in his opinion, Mr. Skinner would have been a very bright ornament of any Church in any country. *ὁλυχνος, ὀκατομενος, καὶ Φανων.*"

Among the Holy Hills. By HENRY M. FIELD, D. D., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In the last volume of Dr. Field's travels noticed by us, he stopped under the walls of Jerusalem. In this, he begins with the Holy City, which he reached in time for the Passover and the striking religious ceremonies of Holy Week, and which he most graphically describes; and thence his route lay northward, through Samaria, Nazareth, the lake of Tiberias, Damascus, Baalbec, and so over the Lebanon to Beirut, where he bids us good bye. Never very profound or original, never weary or dull in style, this veteran traveller touches every page with interest. His quick eye, his easy conversational style, his tender sympathy, his deep religious convictions and emotions, his picturesque and lively descriptions, all make him one of the most charming of companions from the beginning of the journey to the end of it.

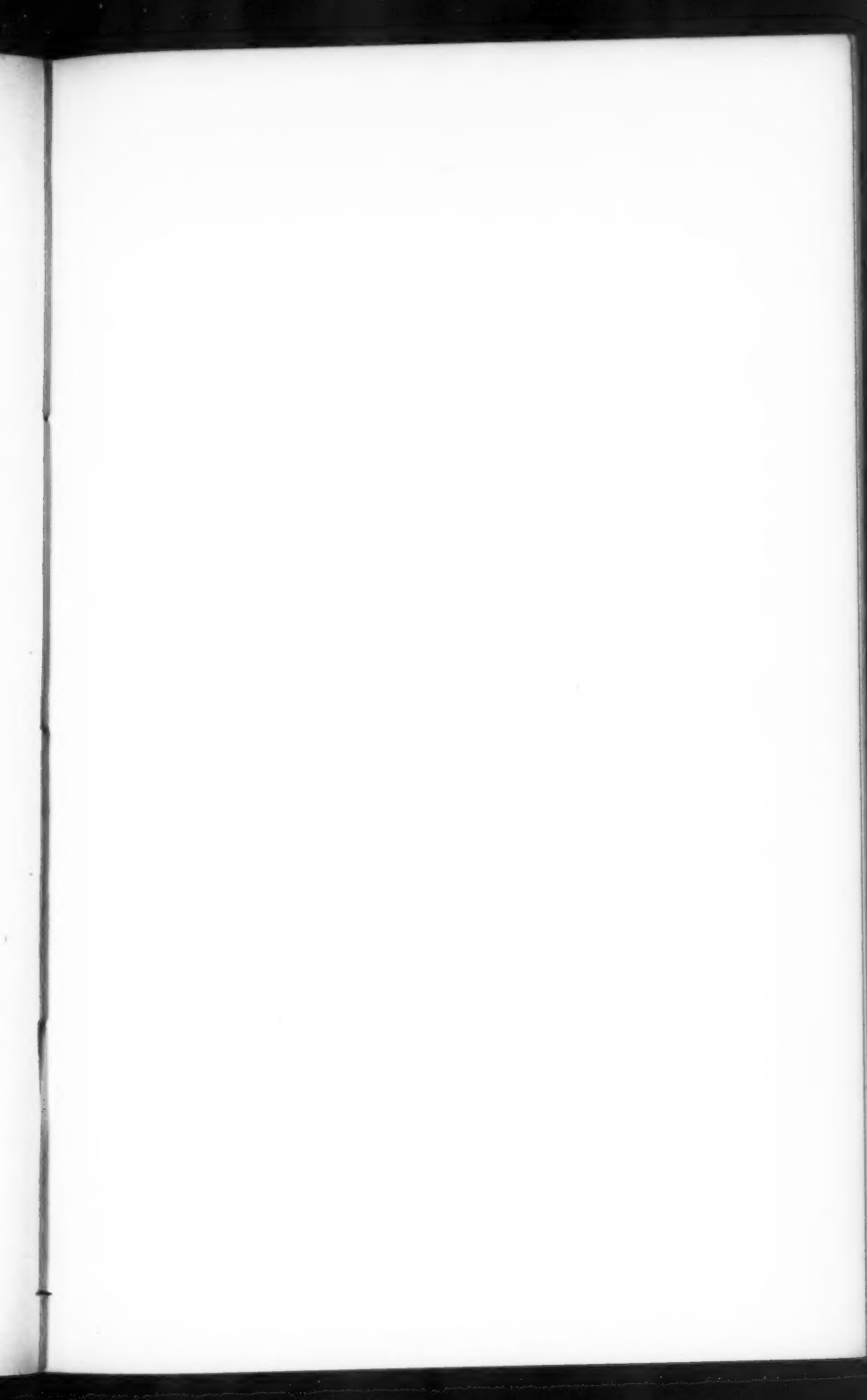
Days and Nights with Jesus; or, Words for the Faithful. Gathered and Composed by the Rev. CHARLES FREDERICK HOFFMAN, D. D., Advent, Christmas and Epiphany Tide. New York: James Pott.

Dr. Hoffman speaks very modestly of his book in his preface, saying that he "will gladly receive suggestions for the improvement of this work. He will also be thankful to have his attention drawn to any inaccuracies." His object is "to give unity, definiteness and point to the teachings of the Church." His plan is to take each week of the Church's Year separately, giving it a distinct name of its own, and then gathering together—with some contributions of his own—a very great variety of appropriate extracts from a great variety of sources, poetic as well as prose. As to names of weeks, he calls the first week in Advent "Entrance Week;" the second, "Bible Week;" the third, "Ministers' Week," and the fourth, "Approachment Week." The variety of sources from which he quotes is so great that, to save space, he refers to the authors only by *initials*, and the

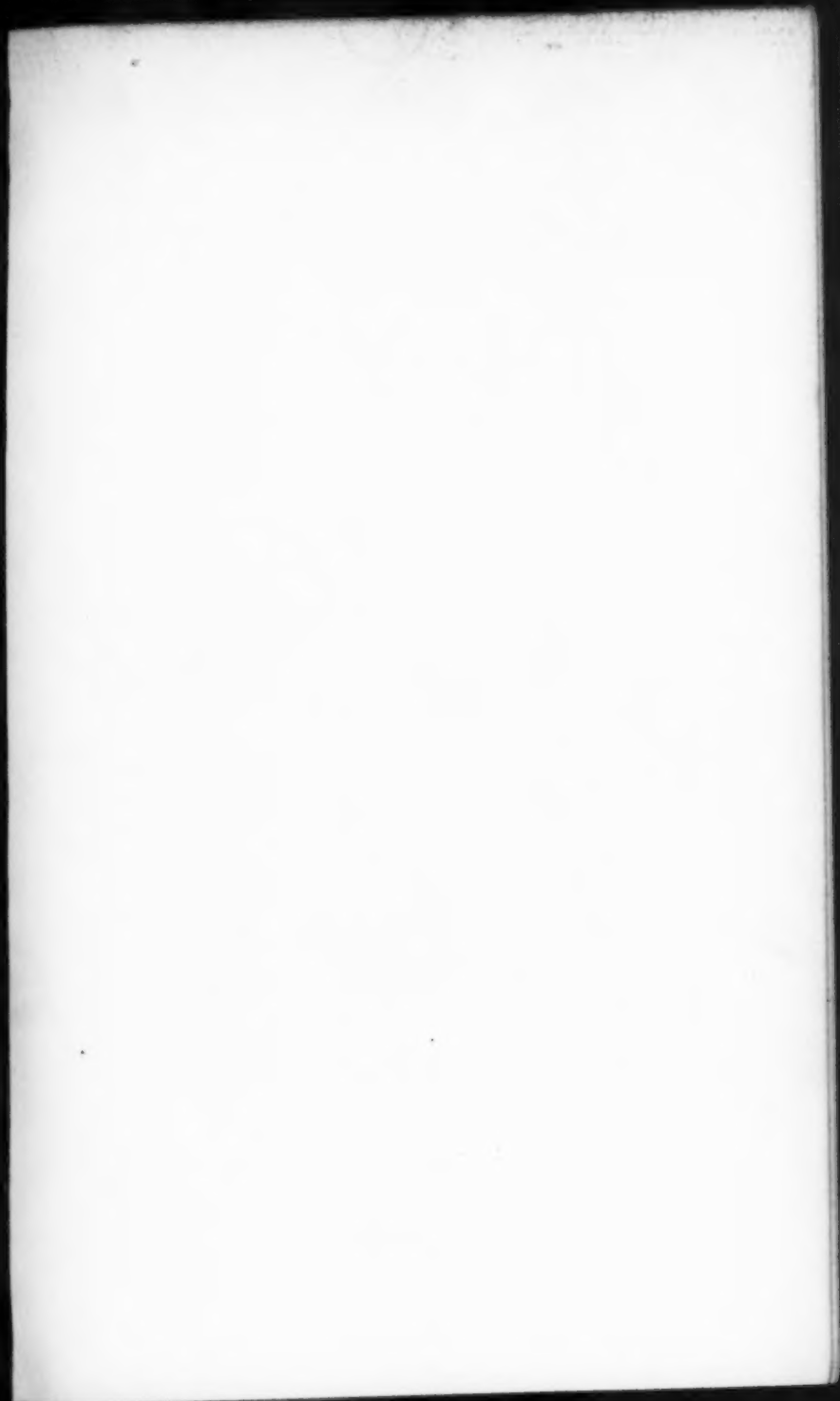
mere list of works, with their initials, fills some six pages. The tone of Church teaching is thoroughly sound and uncompromising. As a sample, we would refer to the second week in Epiphany-tide, which is called "Marriageable and Married People's Week," the Gospel being the Marriage at Cana of Galilee. About eighty-six pages are devoted to this one week; and the full doctrine of the Church touching divorce, re-marriage, forbidden degrees, as also the mystic signification of marriage, are all set forth with the utmost distinctness and fullness. In each week large groups of "readings" from Holy Scripture akin to the subject are indicated by references. The present volume—only the first of a series—ends with Epiphany-tide. A book like this is a devotional library in itself, and we trust that it may be carried to a successful completion.

The Poetry of Other Lands.—A collection of translations into English verse of the Poetry of other Languages, Ancient and Modern, compiled by N. CLEMONS HUNT. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

In this one handsome volume are gathered specimens (translated) of a very great variety of ages and languages—Arabian, Italian, Old Greek, Spanish, French, German, Latin, Danish, Russian, Dutch, Portuguese, more Modern Greek, Polish, Persian, Bohemian, Swedish, Turkish, Japanese, Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Servia—such is the variety, in the order gathered out of the index. The number of translators is as varied as of the authors and languages, many of the versions being by acknowledged masters of English verse. The pieces are arranged under subject headings: "Poems of Nature," "Poems of Places," "Poems of Love," etc., and under each heading, those of each nationality are grouped together. Of the larger number of poets, only one specimen is given; but more is allotted to those of more distinction. Thus Anacreon has *ten* pieces, Camoens, *five*; Goethe, *ten*; Heine, *six*; Horace, *thirteen*; Michael Angelo, *eight*; Petrarca, *six*; Schiller, *ten*, etc. It is a charming volume, which one cannot open anywhere without finding something of sentiment, or wit, or wisdom, or pure and tender imagination, or stinging satire, or epigram, to enjoy.









Engraved for "AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW" from a Photograph by J. S. Allen, N. Y.

William Shelton

